The Dissertation Committee for Joann Gulizio Certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

Mycenaean Religion at Knossos

Committee:

Cynthia W. Shelmerdine, Co-Supervisor

Thomas G. Palaima, Co-Supervisor

Sara Kimball

Paula Perlman

Kim Shelton

Mycenaean Religion at Knossos

by

Joann Gulizio, B.A.; B.A.; M.A.

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Dedication

For Joan Keinigstein,

my role model and guardian angel,

whose late night conversations with me
on all things religious first
sparked my interest in the discipline

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Mycenaean Religion at Knossos

Joann Gulizio, Ph.D.

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Co-Supervisor: Cynthia W. Shelmerdine

Co-Supervisor: Thomas G. Palaima

This dissertation examines the archaeological and textual evidence for religion at the site of Knossos during the Mycenaean phases of administration (LM II-LM IIIB1). Several methodological issues in the nature of the evidence are addressed. The Linear B documents, due to their economic nature, offer limited information about religion. Moreover, the tablets from Knossos belong to at least two different phases of administration. The archaeological evidence for the different phases of cult use is often difficult to assess given the continued use of the palace over an extended period of time. To address these issues, the evidence from Knossos is divided into two temporal phases so that the textual evidence can be closely examined alongside its contemporary archaeological evidence for cult. This process has allowed for a more accurate view of the religion at Knossos in the Late Bronze Age.

An evolution in the religious beliefs and practices are evident in the material culture. The presence of Indo-European divinities into the Knossian pantheon by the newly-installed Greek-speaking elite population is apparent from the outset, while previous Minoan style shrines continue to be used. In the later phase, numerous Minoan

divinities are included in ritual offerings, while some Greek divinities are now given local epithets. Also at this time, Minoan shrine types gradually go out of use, whereas bench sanctuaries (a shrine type common to both Minoans and Mycenaeans) become the norm. The overall nature of Mycenaean religious assemblages at Knossos represents a unique blend of both Minoan and Mycenaean religious beliefs and practices.

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Chapter 1: Methodology

> "The attempt to reconstruct, and make sense of, a religious system to which we have extremely limited access, and which is very different from those which have conditioned our own understanding of the category 'religion', demands a methodology which, as far as possible, prevents our own, – culturally determined – assumptions from intruding into, and thus corrupting, the investigation. We also need to discard the layer of earlier interpretations which form distorting filters structuring the data on the basis of the assumptions and expectations of scholars of earlier generations, when it was not fully realized that all reading and interpretation, and all 'common sense', are culturally determined."[1]

I. THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

The primary aim of this doctoral dissertation is to assess the nature of religion at the site of Knossos during the Mycenaean phases of administration based on both the archaeological remains and the Linear B documents. It should be noted at the outset that the title of this dissertation *Mycenaean Religion at Knossos* is perhaps a bit misleading. It was originally my intention for this dissertation to study elements of Mycenaean religion both on the mainland and on Crete and to identify essential regional differences in religious beliefs and practices. As my research narrowed and focused on religion at Knossos, it became increasingly clear that religion at Knossos during the Mycenaean phases was something quite different from Mycenaean religion on the Greek mainland. In fact, religion at Knossos during the Mycenaean period exhibits a unique blend of both Minoan and Mycenaean religions. As a result, one of the main purposes of this dissertation has been to assess what aspects of religion at this time and place are indicative of Minoan religion and which can be identified as Mycenaean. Throughout my

[1] Sourvinou-Inwood 1990: 295.

research, I have attempted to review the evidence objectively and to discover to what degree it is appropriate to use the label "Mycenaean" when referring to religion at Knossos during the Mycenaean period. At the same time, the study of the religious beliefs and practices at this time and place provides a unique insight into the genesis and development of Mycenaean religion beliefs and practices under the influence of the local Minoan elite population of Knossos. This strong Cretan influence is reflected in Mycenaean religion on the Greek mainland which exhibits characteristics that appear to have been a direct result of contact with Minoans. Consequently, there is no such thing as *Mycenaean* religion without acknowledgement of its partial Minoan origins.

A. Defining 'Religion'

Reconstructing any ancient religion based on archaeological and textual evidence is not an easy task. As expressed so eloquently by Sourvinou-Inwood above, any attempt at understanding a given religion system can easily and unknowingly be corrupted by our socially determined ideas regarding religion itself. For this reason, any discussion about religion ought to begin with a detailed definition of this term. Only then can an appropriate method be established for identifying religious material in the archaeological record. Several scholars have provided their own definitions for the term "religion," many of which contain reflections of their own beliefs or agenda rather than an expression of some true, universal meaning for such an all-encompassing word.[2] Similarly, any definition that I offer is subject to my own personal biases and opinions.

[2] In particular, Durkheim 1915; Geertz 1966: 4; Spiro 1966: 96-98; also discussed by Renfrew 1985.

Nevertheless, a definition must be put forward at the outset, so that any predispositions I may have are evident.

In particular, I am concerned not only with defining what religion is, but how it is expressed and made manifest in a way that can be recognized in material culture. For the sake of clarity, I have divided my definition of religion into three parts: (1) the belief in a powerful force (or forces), that in some way maintains control or holds sway over the world around us. Though such forces are often anthropomorphized in the form of a divinity or divinities, this need not be the case for every religion; (2) this force has powers beyond that of the earthly realm; (3) those who believe in this greater power need to recognize, propitiate and/or in some way honor it so that they may receive its protection and/or benevolence, or so that they may avert retribution for their irreverence. Such recognition often takes the form of religious rituals and it is these rituals that leave traces in the archaeological record.

Parts (1) and (2) of this definition reflect the belief system which is what the archaeologist of ancient religions is trying to reconstruct. Part 3, on the other hand, reflects the actions of individuals as a result of the belief system. Since only number (3) can be inferred and/or reconstructed from archaeological and textual evidence, archaeologists must use these inferences to reconstruct parts (1) and (2) of an ancient religion. Using this definition as a basis for this study, we can address the methodological problems with identifying religious practices or rituals in the archaeological record.

B. Circularity in the Study of Ancient Religion

As evident in my definition above, "religion" itself is an intangible construct, consisting of a set of *beliefs*. These beliefs are expressed in various religious *rituals* which create for the believer a religious *experience*. This relationship between religious beliefs, rituals and experiences is illustrated by Renfrew and Bahn (fig. 1.1).[3]

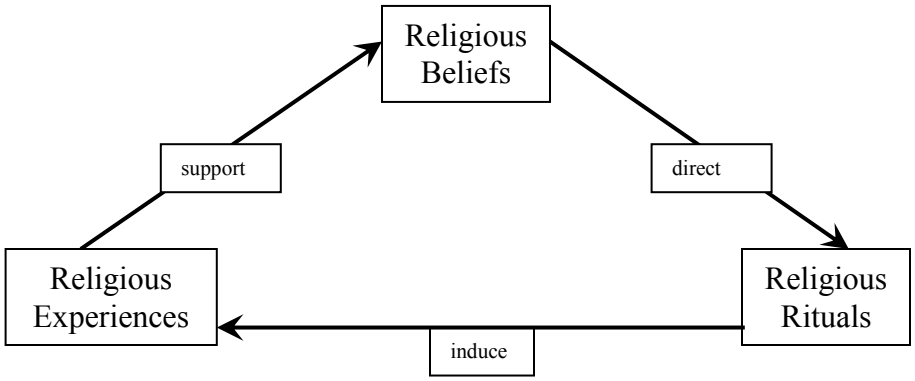

Figure 1.1: Renfrew and Bahn's Model for Religious Beliefs

The goal of archaeologists is to ascertain, to the best of their ability, the religious belief system of the culture in question. To do so, archaeologists examine tangible objects, or artifacts. Using archaeological remains, we can, in some instances, determine certain religious rituals that may have taken place. It is these rituals that are a reflection of a

[3] A simplified version of Renfrew and Bahn's model (1994: 390) based on Rapaport's (1971a, 1971b).

culture's religious beliefs. A model similar to that of Renfrew and Bahn's can be used to illustrate this process (fig. 1.2).

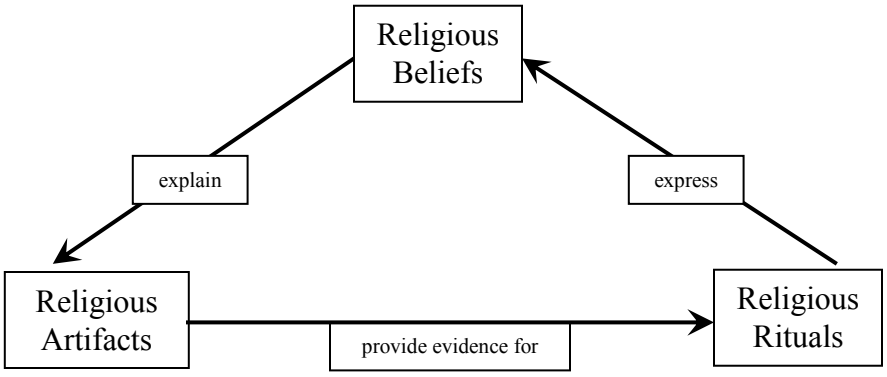

Figure 1.2: Model for Identifying Beliefs in the Archaeological Record

The archaeologist begins with a group of religious artifacts[4] and uses this cultural assemblage to determine the religious rituals performed by a given society. Based on these rituals, information about their religious beliefs may be inferred. In a sense, this process is the reverse of Renfrew and Bahn's model where religious beliefs, through religious rituals, induce a religious experience. Religious beliefs are what archaeologists are seeking to understand, and only through a reconstruction of religious rituals based on material remains can these beliefs be inferred. Therefore, the tangible evidence for ancient religion is already two steps removed from the ultimate goal of determining the intangible belief system. Furthermore, this model feeds upon itself. That is, once a culture's beliefs are believed to be understood, these interpretations guide further

[4] What constitutes specifically religious artifacts is determined by the culture being examined. A methodology designed to identify a religious assemblage has been established by Renfrew (1985) and is discussed in more detail below (see Chapter 1, Section II).

interpretations of other similar cultural assemblages. Such a process is inherently circular.

This model is meant to be a guide for the archaeologist of ancient religions. First, it serves to clarify the goal of determining the religious *beliefs* of a given culture and the necessary steps an archaeologist must undergo in order to obtain an understanding of their beliefs. It also serves as a cautionary reminder of the circularity inevitable in the study of ancient religion. For instance, an object which *on its own* would not necessarily be deemed 'religious' in nature, when found in an identifiably religious assemblage, is sometimes (and often erroneously) used to identify another assemblage as religious. The archaeologist must be aware of such correlations and the consequences of such inferences. Lastly, the model in fig. 1.2 shows how the artifactual evidence for religion is removed from the ritual action and belief system that originally caused the placement of the specific items within the material culture.

To complicate matters, much of the evidence for religious activities does not survive in the archaeological record. The evidence that is available often is difficult to identify and can be interpreted in a variety of ways. Any reconstruction of Mycenaean religion is subject to these pitfalls. Moreover, the study of Mycenaean religion is laden with its own unique set of problems. For this reason, we must first address the methodological problems surrounding this discipline in particular and what attempts will be made here to overcome them.

C. Minoan vs. Mycenaean Religion

Early scholars of Mycenaean religion, such as Evans, Persson, and Nilsson, did their seminal work on Bronze Age religion prior to the decipherment of Linear B in 1952.[5] Before the decipherment, it was assumed that Mycenaeans were dominated by Minoans: this was not an unreasonable supposition given the strong influence that Minoan culture seemed to have had at mainland sites. In addition, much of the evidence which seemed religious in nature was very similar both on the mainland and on Crete. For this reason, scholars made little to no distinction between the religions of the Minoans and the Mycenaeans, a telling example of which can be seen in Nilsson's most influential work *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*. However misguided their studies may seem to modern scholars of Aegean religions, their approach at the time was understandable given the apparent similarities of Minoan and Mycenaean remains, especially in religious iconography.

Interpreting Minoan and Mycenaean iconography is perhaps the most perplexing problem faced by Aegean archaeologists and art historians. This is particularly the case with religious scenes depicted on sealstones, seal rings and seal impressions for several reasons. The limited surface area available on these objects required the artists to use abbreviated iconographic images; such abbreviations, though presumably understood by the artisans and owners of the artifacts, are often more difficult for the archaeologist to interpret. Though many of these carvings are believed to depict religious scenes, there is

[5] Evans 1901; Persson 1942; Nilsson 1950; Picard 1948.

little consensus among Minoan scholars regarding their specific interpretations. Moreover, several questions arise regarding the manufacture of these artifacts and whether they represent a Minoan or Mycenaean tradition. The practice of carving elaborate scenes on stones and gold rings certainly began in the Aegean Bronze Age as a Minoan craft.[6] However, many of these objects are found on the Greek mainland in clearly *Mycenaean* contexts. Were they made by Cretan artisans? If so, how did they find their way into a Mycenaean site? Were they traded to the Mycenaeans or offered to them by Cretans as prestige goods? Or perhaps Minoan artisans were commissioned by Mycenaean elites to manufacture these objects? The answers to these questions would greatly influence our ability to determine whether the scenes represented on these objects were religiously significant to their Mycenaean owners. Naturally, if these questions cannot be answered, how can we hope to address more essential questions such as: Did the Mycenaeans employ the same religious iconography as the Minoans? If so, does the similar iconography represent the same belief system? Could these artifacts represent some kind of religious syncretism between the Minoans and Mycenaeans and to what extent? Were the meanings of these presumably Minoan religious scenes understood by the Mycenaeans who once owned them or were the objects simply considered prestige goods? Whatever the case may be, it should *not* be assumed that the assimilation of Minoan religious symbols into Mycenaean culture represents the acceptance of Minoan religious *belief* by the Mycenaeans. It does seem that the Mycenaeans and the Minoans

[6] Rehak and Younger 1998: 111-112.

used some of the same religious iconography, but interpreting these symbols, even for the Minoans, is by no means straightforward.

Given these interpretative problems, it is important to assess the evidence for Mycenaean religious beliefs and practices, independent of Minoan (or what appears to be Minoan), and then to re-assess what we truly know about Mycenaean religion in and of itself. To do so, I must first clarify my use of the terms "Minoan" and "Mycenaean." My understanding of these terms is both linguistic and regional: "Minoan" refers to the non-Greek speaking inhabitants of the island of Crete, whereas "Mycenaean" refers to the first Greek-speaking peoples who occupied the mainland of Greece during the Aegean Bronze Age.

As much of the archaeological evidence suggests, Minoan and Mycenaean material cultures are distinct and the study of their religions must be kept separate. In some instances, this may not be entirely possible. The Mycenaeans were strongly influenced by Minoan culture in the early phases of the Late Bronze Age and some religious syncretism is likely to have occurred during this time period. In addition, the Mycenaeans occupied areas of Crete beginning as early as the Late Minoan II period and again, we may expect some difficulty distinguishing Minoan from Mycenaean religious material. For this reason, I begin with an overview of the evidence for Minoan religion and the iconography associated with it. Then, I examine the evidence for Mycenaean

religion and attempt to identify features that are distinctly Mycenaean in comparison to features that can be considered uniquely Minoan.[7]

Given the similarities in Minoan and Mycenaean iconography, such distinctions may not always be clear, as will often be the case with carvings on sealstones and signet rings mentioned above. In such instances, it is my preference, when possible, to omit such evidence from my discussion. In particular, I do not use iconographic evidence for religion that occurs on small, moveable finds (such as sealings, sealstones and signet rings), precisely because the origin of manufacture (whether Minoan or Mycenaean) is indeterminable and because these types of objects can often be understood prestige goods (especially those found in Mycenaean funerary contexts), suggesting that the religious scenes depicted on them were not necessarily religiously meaningful to the owners. Though it may seem excessive to exclude such a large, and potentially informative, evidence set, interpretations of these presumably religious objects are far too subjective to provide reliable results.

On the other hand, sufficient evidence for Minoan and Mycenaean religion does exist in other forms, including but not limited to wall paintings, votive offerings, cult equipment and distinctive architectural features. By evaluating such evidence, clear distinctions between these two religions can be found. Once such distinctions have been

[7] Much of the evidence for Mycenaean religion on the mainland post-dates the Knossian evidence. However, this data set provides us with an understanding of Mycenaean preferences in religious symbols, paraphernalia and shrine types which can be considered distinct from Minoan religious assemblages. It should be realized, however, that Mycenaean preferences could have still been in the process of being developed during their tenure at Knossos.

outlined, it will be possible to address the material from Mycenaean Knossos to determine what elements can be considered "Minoan" or "Mycenaean."

D. Mycenaean vs. Greek Religion

The conflation of Minoan and Mycenaean religion is not the only erroneous assumption made about Mycenaean religion. Too often, Mycenaean remains are interpreted based on later Greek religious practices. Such an approach is justified by the commonly accepted belief that religion is static, conservative and resistant to change.[8] Even the earliest studies of Bronze Age religion were concerned with finding the origins of Greek religion and mythology in the archaeological remains of the Minoans and Mycenaeans.[9] The decipherment of the language of the Linear B tablets as an early form of Ancient Greek further validated such approaches and encouraged the study of Greek religious continuity. In reality, religion is dynamic and can change considerably, even over short periods of time. Furthermore, it is not possible to predict what aspects of a given religion might change and which might remain constant from era to era. For this reason, it should no longer be acceptable to interpret Mycenaean religious practices in light of later Greek religion. That is not to say that certain aspects of Mycenaean religious beliefs are not reflected in historical Greek religion. On the contrary, much of my research in the field has been dedicated to determining the extent of Greek religious

[8] As expressed by Dietrich 1974: ix, for example.
[9] Dietrich 1974; Nilsson 1972; Burkert 1985.

continuity.[10] To do so, however, the nature of Mycenaean religion must be assessed, to the best of our ability, independent of our knowledge of later Greek religion.

On the other hand, our knowledge of later Greek religion can be useful as *supporting* evidence when studying Mycenaean religion. The language of the Mycenaeans is an earlier form of Ancient Greek. Naturally, we can use our knowledge of Ancient Greek to interpret the Linear B tablets, so long as the context is appropriate and coincides with the Ancient Greek meaning of the word. I believe the same may be done with the religious information provided in the Linear B tablets. For example, the name *di-we* occurs in the Linear B tablets, and linguistically is the dative form of the theonym Zeus. It should *not* be assumed that the *di-we* refers to a divinity based <u>*solely*</u> on this knowledge. Instead, the context of this term within the Linear B corpus must be examined. *di-we* and its related forms occurs on a number of Linear B tablets along with other divine names. On these tablets, he is a recipient of an oil offering (KN Fp 1), an amphora of honey (KH Gg 5), and a gold cup (PY Tn 316) in a place named after him (*di-u-jo* "the Diwion"). Based on the Linear B evidence alone, it can be inferred that *di-we* is a divinity. This information can then be supported by the fact that Zeus is a god in later Greek religion. Admittedly, this approach to the evidence may seem to be the long way around to reaching the same conclusion. However, especially when the evidence is more ambiguous, I believe such a method will help avoid any preconceived notions about Mycenaean religion and provide more confidence in the results.

[10] Gulizio 2000; 2001; Gulizio, Pluta and Palaima 2001.

E. The Nature of the Evidence

We rely on two main bodies of evidence for the study of Mycenaean religion: archaeological remains and textual evidence in the form of the Linear B tablets. Unfortunately, it is often difficult to identify in the archaeological record remains that can be considered evidence for Mycenaean religion. For this reason, I have outlined below a specific methodology for determining religious versus secular archaeological remains (see Chapter 1, Section II). One would imagine that the textual evidence for Mycenaean religion is more straightforward. However, because of their economic and palatial nature, the Linear B documents offer a skewed view of Mycenaean religion. Such problems are further complicated by the fact that Mycenaean religion is not a single, timeless, universal construct that applies to all Mycenaeans throughout the Aegean world. Presumably, a number of religious beliefs and rituals were common to many, if not all, Mycenaeans; but distinct, local differences should also be expected. In addition, the Mycenaean period spans over 500 years and changes in religious beliefs and practices are likely to have occurred during that time span.

How can an assessment of Mycenaean religion take these problems into account? Any attempt must address the limitations of the evidence. Beginning with the textual evidence, a considerable amount of information about Mycenaean religion can be gleaned from the Linear B tablets. In particular, they provide the names of divinities, sanctuaries and festivals. We can also infer from the tablets different types of ritual practices, such as sacrifices, ritual feasting and perhaps even ritual processions, and a variety of ritual

offerings including animals, foodstuffs, cloth, perfumed oil, and even vessels made of gold. However, it must always be remembered that the Linear B tablets are *economic* documents recording information that is of interest to the palatial center. In addition, an overwhelming majority of the Linear B tablets date to the end of the palatial periods both on the mainland and on Crete, providing us with only a snapshot of Mycenaean society. Moreover, all of the extant Linear B archives seem to provide only a portion of one year's account. Therefore, a view of Mycenaean religion based solely on the textual evidence would be both incomplete and palatially biased. The tablets from Knossos are especially problematic. The early and imprecise excavations of the Knossian palace do not permit the assignment of an accurate date for a majority of the tablets. Most scholars accept the early date for the tablets from The Room of the Chariot Tablets (LM II-LM IIIA1),[11] but the dating of the remaining tablets is still subject to heated debate.[12]

Despite these difficulties (i.e. the chronology of the Linear B tablets and the regional and temporal differences in the various tablet deposits), evidence associated with religion is often culled from *all* the tablets and used as a single corpus of data to reconstruct some notion of "Mycenaean Religion." Such an approach can only provide a generalized, and perhaps oversimplified, view of Greek religion in the Late Bronze Age. In order to ascertain the development of Mycenaean religion and the differences in beliefs and practices throughout the Mycenaean world, it is necessary to examine the

[11] Driessen 1990.

[12] Some scholars believe that the majority of tablets from Knossos date to LH IIIA2. The debate regarding the dating of the Knossos tablets is addressed in detail in Chapter 3. For a discussion of the numerous destructions evident at Knossos and a summary of the chronology of Linear B tablets see, Driessen 1997 and 2008.

Linear B texts both chronologically and regionally and in the context of contemporaneous and regional archaeological evidence.

The archaeological evidence for Mycenaean religion has many limitations of its own. Religious evidence dating to the Early Mycenaean period (LH/LM I-II) is underrepresented in the archaeological record. However, enough survives to provide at least a glimpse of the development of Mycenaean religion. The Linear B evidence is also minimal. A small and limited archive of Linear B tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets, which may date as early as LM II, provides some indications for the religion of these early Greek speakers. Most of the archaeological remains related to Mycenaean religion date to the latter part of the Late Bronze Age (the Late Mycenaean period – LH/LM III). In addition, much archaeological evidence dates to the LH IIIC phases; that is, the period *after* the fall of the Mycenaean palaces and the use of written documents in Linear B. Therefore, the archaeological evidence for Mycenaean religion is not exclusive to the palace period and does not always reflect the interests of the palatial elites, as is the case with the Linear B evidence. For this reason, we should expect the picture provided by some of the archaeological evidence to be quite different from that which the Linear B evidence suggests.

In addition, the ability to identify "religious" evidence in the material record is not straightforward. In fact, some archaeologists might even argue that religion and religious beliefs cannot be obtained from archaeological remains. Hawkes, as early as 1954, demonstrates this skepticism by considering religious institutions and spiritual life to be

the most difficult to recover from archaeological remains.[13] For this reason, some archaeologists shied away from the study of religion considering it unattainable. The New Archaeology movement of the 1960's and 1970's contributed to this trend and turned scholars' attention to more "answerable" questions about social structure and economy. Those that ventured into the realm of religion and ritual practice during this period did so without using a reliable methodology to interpret the archaeological evidence.[14] In fact, interest in the study of religion was not renewed until the mid-1980's when Colin Renfrew developed a methodological approach to identifying a religious context and applied it to the site of Phylakopi on Melos.[15] He established a number of criteria, which he termed "archaeological indicators of ritual,"[16] that should identify an archaeological context as religious. Indeed, these criteria are still used by many scholars today. Of course, his methodology has its shortcomings; it has been criticized[17] and revised both by Renfrew and others.[18] For the most part, however, the fundamental concepts have prevailed and most importantly, his work has demonstrated that understanding and reconstructing ancient religion is not beyond our reach.

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[13] Hawkes 1954: 161-162.
[14] As noted by Flannery 1976: 331.
[15] Renfrew 1985.
[16] In his original publication, Renfrew (1985: 18) refers to these criteria as "archaeological correlates." In his later publications (Renfrew and Bahn 1994: 391; Renfrew 1994: 51), he uses the more appropriate terminology "archaeological indicators of ritual."
[17] For example, Vermeule 1988.
[18] Renfrew 1994; Pilafides-Williams 1998.

II. METHODOLOGY FOR RECONSTRUCTING RELIGION

Difficulty in identifying archaeological remains that may be the result of cult activities is not limited to Mycenaean religion. In fact, it is a common joke that when archaeological remains defy explanation or cannot easily be understood as "functional," they must be religious.[19] Indeed, an entire book has been written as a parody of this practice, in which a 20th century roadside motel is excavated and interpreted as a religious cult locale.[20] In truth, the assumption that non-functionality equals religion is not necessarily wrong; it is just not methodologically legitimate.

Any approach to identifying religious actions is inherently circular, at least to a certain degree. A *single* artifact, on its own, could be interpreted as either religious or utilitarian, or both. Following this logic, one piece of cult equipment cannot identify a site or an area as religious. Rather, an accumulation of features and/or artifacts that otherwise defy a practical explanation are required for a religious interpretation. Therefore, only a contextual approach can reliably identify cult activities in the archaeological record. This idea was first proposed by Renfrew who, as mentioned above, created a list of what he termed "archaeological indicators of ritual" to be used for the identification of cult locales.

I study the archaeological evidence for Mycenaean religion using Renfrew's indicators, with some revisions. His original list is as follows:

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[19] Renfrew 1985.
[20] Macaulay 1979.

Renfrew's List of Indicators of Ritual[21]

1. Ritual may take place in a spot with special, natural associations: e.g. a cave, a grove of trees, a spring, a mountaintop.
2. Alternatively it may take place in a special building set apart for sacred functions.
3. It may involve both conspicuous public display, and hidden exclusive mysteries, whose practice will be reflected in the architecture.
4. Worship will involve prayer and special movements – gestures of adoration – and these may be reflected in the iconography of decorations or images.
5. The ritual may employ various devices for inducing religious experience, such as dance, music and drugs.
6. The structure and equipment used may employ a number of attention-focusing devices, reflected in the architecture and in the movable equipment.
7. The association with the omnipotent power(s) may be reflected in the use of a cult image of that power, or its aniconic representation.
8. The chosen place will have special facilities for the practice of ritual, e.g. altars, benches, pools or basins of water, hearths, pits for libations.
9. The sacrifice of animals or humans may be practiced.
10. Food and drink may be brought, and possibly consumed as offerings, or burnt/poured away.
11. Other material objects may be brought and offered (votives). The act of offering may entail breakage.
12. Special portable equipment may be employed in the cult practice, e.g. special receptacles, lamps etc.
13. The sacred area is likely to be rich in repeated symbols (redundancy).
14. The symbols used will often relate iconographically to the deities worshipped and to their associated myth. In particular specific animal symbolism (of real or mythical animals) may be employed, particular animals relating to specific deities or powers.
15. The symbolism used may relate to that seen also in funerary ritual, and in other rites of passage.
16. Concepts of cleanliness and pollution may be reflected in the facilities and maintenance of the sacred area.
17. Great investment of wealth may be reflected both in the equipment used and in the offerings made.
18. Great investment of wealth and resources may be reflected in the structure itself and it facilities.

[21] Renfrew 1985: 17-18.

As mentioned above, Renfrew quite successfully applied these behavioral correlates to the site of Phylakopi on Melos. However, in this form the list is a bit cumbersome and somewhat repetitive. The salient points can be summarized as follows:

Archaeological Indicators should include:

(A) identification of a cult locale, either natural or architectural, that may involve public display, hidden exclusive mysteries, investment of wealth, and/or facilities suggestive of producing and/or maintaining cleanliness (Renfrew nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 16, and 18)

(B) use of special equipment, either moveable or non-moveable (Renfrew nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, and 12)

(C) remains of offerings, whether sacrificial or votive (Renfrew nos. 9, 10 and 11)

(D) use and repetition of symbols (Renfrew nos. 4, 7, 13, 14 and 15)

Since Renfrew's study, Pilafides-Williams has made appropriate revisions to his indicators in her examination of the Bronze Age material from the Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aegina.[22] She combined certain indicators which she believed were closely related and, more importantly, she divided these correlates into what she termed "primary" and "secondary." Primary indicators provide stronger evidence for cult activity and can be used without the presence of secondary correlates. On the other hand, secondary indicators are artifacts or features which could appear in either religious or secular contexts and cannot *on their own* define an area as religious. Rather the accumulation of

[22] Her main reason for doing so was the fact that Renfrew's list emphasized built shrines and architecture, making them less applicable to open-air sanctuaries, such as the one she identified at the Sanctuary of Aphaia. She believes that identification of a non-built sanctuary relies more on negative evidence for tombs and settlement, whereas built shrines need to be distinguished from non-religious rooms. In the latter case, reflection in architecture of conspicuous display or investment of wealth in architecture can distinguish a cult room from a storage room. For a full discussion of her motivations, see Pilafides-Williams 1998: 121-125.

secondary indicators *along with* primary indicators, can support the religious interpretation of an area. Pilafides-Williams' revisions are as follows:

Pilafides-Williams' Revised Indicators of Cult:[23]

A. *Primary*:
1. Specialized facilities for ritual practice: altars, benches, pools or basins of water, hearths and pits for libation (Renfrew nos. 8, 16)
2. Special portable equipment employed in the cult practice: special receptacles, lamps, etc. (Renfrew no. 12)
3. Attention focusing devices reflected in the architecture or movable equipment (Renfrew no. 6)
4. Use of cult image or aniconic representation (Renfrew no. 7)
5. Special movements of prayer and adoration reflected in the images (Renfrew no. 4)
6. Votive offerings (Renfrew no. 11)
7. Repeated symbols (Renfrew no. 13)
    a. Symbolism also used in funerary rites (Renfrew no. 15)
    b. Iconographic relationship to deity worshipped (Renfrew no. 14)

B. *Secondary*:
8. Bones indicating blood sacrifice (Renfrew no. 9)
9. Offerings of prepared foodstuffs (Renfrew no. 10)
10. Investment of wealth in the equipment and offerings (Renfrew no. 17)
11. Various devices inducing religious experience (music, dance, drugs) (Renfrew no. 5)

C. *Type of Cult*
12. Type of Cult: non-built or built (Renfrew nos. 1 and 2)
    a. Non-built/cave (negative evidence for tombs and settlement)
    b. Built:
        i. Primary: reflection in the architecture of conspicuous display or hidden exclusive mysteries (Renfrew no. 3)
        ii. Secondary: investment of wealth reflected in the architecture (Renfrew no. 18)

[23] Pilafides-Williams 1998: 124-125.

The revisions made by Pilafides-Williams provide a more concise and organized outline of features needed in identifying a cult locale. I particularly favor the distinction she has made between "primary" and "secondary" indicators. Too often in recent literature the presence of secondary indicators alone has been used to identify an area of cult. There are, however, two changes that I would make to her organization of these correlates. She has included among the primary indicators votive offerings (6) and repeated symbols (7). Though these may seem to be reasonable indications of cult, identifying votive offerings in a Mycenaean cultural assemblage is not always straightforward. For example, the most common Mycenaean votive offerings (and the easiest to identify) are phi and psi figurines. These artifacts are prolific in the archaeological record and can be found in both religious and secular contexts.[24] Therefore, votive offerings *alone* should not be used to identify an area as religious. On the other hand, a phi and/or psi figurine found on a bench alongside a cult icon or in a hearth along with burnt animal bones would support a religious interpretation. For this reason, I would consider votive offerings as a "secondary" indicator.

The use of repeated symbols (7) is an important aspect of religion and religious iconography. However, I am not wholly confident in our abilities to identify "iconographic relation to deity worshipped" among Mycenaean cultural remains. As mentioned above, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between Minoan and Mycenaean religious iconography and whether or not the use of "Minoan" iconography in Mycenaean contexts truly means the adoption or modification of Minoan religious

[24] Tzonou-Herbst 2002.

beliefs. Given the interpretative difficulties with this data set, I would also categorize this correlate as "secondary." Therefore, my revised version of Pilafides-Williams correlates would be as follows:

Revised Indicators:

A. *Primary*:

1. Specialized facilities for ritual practice: altars, benches, pools or basins of water, hearths and pits for libation.
2. Special portable equipment employed in the cult practice: special receptacles, lamps, etc.
3. Attention focusing devices reflected in the architecture or movable equipment
4. Use of cult image or aniconic representation
5. Special movements of prayer and adoration reflected in the images

B. *Secondary*:

6. Votive offerings
7. Repeated symbols
    a. Symbolism also used in funerary rites
    b. Iconographic relationship to deity worshipped
8. Bones indicating blood sacrifice
9. Offerings of prepared foodstuffs
10. Investment of wealth in the equipment and offerings
11. Various devices inducing religious experience (music, dance, drugs)

C. Type of Cult: non-built or built

12. Type of Cult: non-built or built
    a. Non-built/cave
    (negative evidence for tombs and settlement)
    b. Built:
        iii. Primary: reflection in the architecture of conspicuous display or hidden exclusive mysteries
        iv. Secondary: investment of wealth reflected in the architecture

Though this model for the identification of cult places will prove useful, it should not be considered foolproof. Nor, as Renfrew has admitted,[25] should it be used as some sort of checklist, whereby a suitable "score" will prove the religious nature of an area. Rather, it should be used as a guideline and each site should be examined individually to determine the *degree of likelihood* that an area is religious. What this list does emphasize is the need for a contextual approach to the material and the need for a concentration of primary and secondary criteria in the same context in order for an area to identified as religious. To avoid absolute statements (such as "this area was *clearly* used for cult purposes"), I have established the following categories to describe the probability that an area was used as a cult locale:

Identification as a Cult Locale:

1) STRONG: presence of an abundance of primary indicators, supported by secondary indicators

2) LIKELY: presence of several primary indicators, supported by secondary indicators

3) POSSIBLE: presence of a few primary and/or secondary indicators, and external parallels exist that support a religious interpretation

4) UNCERTAIN: presence of a few primary and/or secondary indicators, but lack of parallels and/or absence of evidence

5) UNLIKELY: presence of a few to no primary and/or secondary indicators, and external parallel(s) which suggests a non-religious function.

[25] Renfrew 1985: 20.

These classes contain several subjective terms related to the number of indicators of cult, such as "abundance," "several" and "few." I realize the ambiguity attached to such words. However, providing specific numbers of primary and secondary indicators needed to identify a cult locale could be misleading and provide a false sense of accuracy in the results. With this in mind, an "abundance" of archaeological indicators would be enough that little doubt exists for an identification as cult locale; "several" indicators would be enough to suggest that the area was used for cult, but reasonable doubt still exists; a "few" indicators is not enough to securely identify a cult locale on its own, but the presence or absence of external parallels could support or refute the interpretation. It should be noted, of course, that in some cases, certain indicators could be considered stronger evidence for cult than others. For instance, primary indicators are more reliable than secondary indicators. Naturally, the presence of a few primary indicators could make the case for a cult locale a possibility, whereas a few secondary indicators alone would require external parallels or additional evidence to make its identification as a cult locale more secure. Using these criteria and this terminology, I believe I can evaluate the evidence in a more rigorous and systematic manner.

III. Approach to Reconstructing Mycenaean Religion at Knossos

In the preceding sections, I have addressed the problems with reconstructing an ancient religion in general and the specific problems in doing so for the Mycenaeans, in particular distinguishing it from Minoan and later Greek religions. In addition, I have

adapted a methodology first used by Renfrew for identifying religion in the archaeological record. It is now appropriate to outline a specific approach for Mycenaean religion at Knossos that uses both the archaeological and textual data sets and one that addresses the problems unique to the Mycenaean period. My approach is threefold: regional, chronological and evidentiary.

A. Regional Approach

Since Mycenaean religion at Knossos should involve some degree of syncretism with the local Cretan/Minoan population, it is important first to outline what is known or generally accepted about Minoan religion. Accordingly, the first part of Chapter 2 summarizes the various types of shrines and sanctuaries that are common on Crete during the heyday of the Minoan Civilization. Specifically, I concentrate on sites dating to the Proto- and Neopalatial periods (MM IB – LM IB), and discuss the different cult emblems and paraphernalia typically found at Minoan cult locales.

Additionally, it is unlikely that Mycenaean religion was uniform throughout the Mycenaean world. Though some aspects of Mycenaean religion may be universal to all regions of Greece and Crete (for example, polytheism and/or the worship of some of the same divinities), we can and perhaps should expect to find local differences evident in the material record. A distinction, therefore, must be made between Mycenaean religion on Crete versus that on the Greek mainland. For this reason, the second half of Chapter 2 provides an overview of the evidence for mainland Mycenaean religion. In no way is this

section meant to be an exhaustive survey of all that is known about the religious beliefs and practices of these early Greek-speakers. Instead, it focuses on the variety of cult locales, equipment, and iconography that are common in Mycenaean religious assemblages, with particular attention paid to material that finds parallels at the site of Knossos.

Because I am interested in religion at Knossos during the Mycenaean phases, I intend to address the evidence, both textual and archaeological, from the phases when we know a certain degree of Mycenaean control existed. Here, the Linear B tablets attest to the presence of Greek speakers as early as the LM II or LM IIIA1 period.[26] That is not to say that Mycenaean influence did not extend beyond the site of Knossos. However, the extent to which Mycenaeans maintained control over the island of Crete in the Late Bronze Age is uncertain and no scholarly consensus has been reached. Linear B tablet deposits at Knossos attest to Mycenaean management over the economic and political spheres of influence at these sites, but whether this dominance extended to all parts of the island or was just concentrated in central and western Crete is a matter of debate.[27] To simplify matters and maintain some level of certainty that we are dealing with elements of Mycenaean religion, I reconstruct religion at Knossos only.

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[26] Linear B tablets were also found at the site of Khania, indicating Mycenaean control over parts of western Crete. Unfortunately, only one Linear B tablet contains religious information. Since this dissertation attempts an interdisciplinary approach that combines both archaeological and textual evidence, the Linear B evidence from Khania does not provide an ample body of Linear B material to conduct such a study. Therefore, I have omitted this site from my examination.

[27] The tablets do suggest some degree of Mycenaean influence (at least economically) over central Crete, including Phaistos and Haghia Triada. It is possible that this influence extended to religious practices. Once some idea of Mycenaean religion at Knossos is established, it will then be possible to extend my examination to areas outside of Knossos. Such a study, however, is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

B. Temporal Approach

In addition to a regional examination of the evidence, a temporal approach must also be applied. As discussed above, we can expect Mycenaean religion to have undergone changes during the span of 500 years. It would be incautious, therefore, to consider all of the evidence for Mycenaean religion as a single corpus of data. For this reason, I examine the evidence diachronically by dividing the Late Bronze Age into two different time periods: (1) Phase I: LM II – beginning of LM IIIA1) and (2) Phase II: beginning of LM IIIA1 – LM IIIB1). These phases, like all chronological phases, are a means to examine the evidence in a systematic manner and do not necessarily reflect real phases of occupation or changes in Mycenaean culture. At the same time, they are not entirely arbitrary; the divisions are based on differences in the nature of the evidence that may affect our view of Mycenaean religion at Knossos. Unfortunately, these phases do not coincide with the chronology already established for the mainland and Crete. A referential table designating the correlation of these phases is provided below.

Table 1-1: Archaeological Phases at Knossos in Relation to the Mainland and Crete

	Knossos phase	*Mainland correlation*	*Cretan correlation*
Phase I	LM II to beginning of LM IIIA1	primarily Early Mycenaean period (LH I-II) with some overlap into Late Mycenaean period (LH III)	partially Neopalatial (MM IIIA – LM II) with some overlap into the Postpalatial period (LM III)
Phase II	beginning of LM IIIA1 to LM IIIB1	Late Mycenaean Period (LH III)	Post Palatial Period (LM III)

I have established the dates for Phase I as beginning in LM II and extending until the beginning of LM IIIA1 for two specific reasons. First, a recent study on the Linear B texts from Knossos has identified a group of tablets that date some time in the range of LM II to the beginning phase of LM IIIA1.[28] Second, these dates are archaeologically significant. The palace at Knossos suffered a number of fire destructions, one of which occurred during LM IB, which prompted a series of rebuilding efforts beginning in LM II. Evidence exists for another fire at the beginning of LM IIIA1, which was responsible for baking the Linear B tablets mentioned above. These tablets were found in the West Wing of the palace which is known to have been the center of cult activity during all phases of the building's history. The situation here is ideal for examining both the textual evidence, which contains information about Mycenaean religion, and archaeological material from rooms believed to have been used for ritual purposes. We can then compare this evidence to what is known about Mycenaean religion in the Early Mycenaean period and the beginning of the Palace period on the mainland. The Early Mycenaean period is often viewed as an era when Mycenaean culture was heavily influenced by the Minoans and includes the time when the Mycenaean palaces were beginning to emerge. It is interesting to view the Knossos evidence in this light.

Phase II consists of evidence dating between the beginning of LM IIIA1 and LM IIIB1. This phase includes the height of the Mycenaean palace period on the mainland, when the palatial states appear to have been fully formed. At Knossos, a fairly well-established Mycenaean presence existed at the palace, as attested by the majority of

[28] Driessen 1990. The date of these tablets is addressed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Linear B tablets which belong to this phase (see Chapter 3, Section III). In addition, substantial archaeological remains related to ritual cult practice can be identified at Knossos. Naturally, this phase should be the most informative and provide us with solid evidence for religion at Knossos during the Mycenaean phases. Note that I do not include the final period of the Late Bronze Age (LM IIIC) in this phase. The final destruction at the palace at Knossos occurred in LM IIIB1 after which no evidence for writing in Linear B exists.[29] For this reason, it is not possible to assess the degree of Mycenaean influence on religious beliefs and practices at this time.

C. Evidentiary Approach

Since two very different sets of evidence are available for Mycenaean religion, textual and archaeological, how these data sets are used must be addressed. Renfrew discusses four different classes of data available to an anthropologist: (1) verbal testimony, whether written or oral; (2) direct observation of cult practices; (3) the study of non-verbal records, especially depictions; and (4) study of the material remains of cult practices.[30] For the archaeologist, (1) can be used for ancient literate societies in which written sources have survived. Of course, (2) is restricted to cultural anthropologists and is not available to archaeologists of an ancient culture. When studying a non-literate,

[29] Strong debates exist regarding the date of the majority of Linear B tablets, placing them either in the beginning of LM IIIA2 or at the end of LM IIIB1. Regardless of which date is correct, stirrup jars inscribed with Linear B were found at Knossos and belong to the LM IIIB1 period. This, at the very least, attests to use of the Greek language by administrators at the palace during the final occupation of the palace. All of these arguments are outlined in detail in Chapter 3.

[30] Renfrew 1985: 12.

ancient society, the classes of evidence are confined to categories (3) and (4), i.e. non-literate symbols.

Mycenaean civilization is atypical among prehistoric cultures in that written documents exist in the form of the Linear B tablets, even though the texts are limited in scope and function. Of course, the Mycenaeans should not be considered a fully literate society since writing was so restricted. However, the tablet evidence proves to be very useful for this study because it provides information about Mycenaean religion which can then serve as a guide to the archaeological evidence. For example, the Linear B tablets tell us that the Mycenaeans believed in many divinities, both male and female, and honored them with various types of offerings, many of which do not survive in the archaeological record. This information can be useful when interpreting a possible cult assemblage by forcing the archaeologist to ask appropriate questions, such as "Does the evidence suggest the worship of a male or female divinity?" or "Do the finds suggest the types of offerings made?" and "Could these offerings be consistent with the evidence from the Linear B tablets?" Of course, a certain degree of caution must be exercised in such an approach so that the Linear B evidence does not *dictate* our interpretation of the archaeological evidence.

Since written testimonia should be considered the most reliable and can be useful in interpreting the less reliable archaeological evidence, I begin my examination of religion at Knossos with the Linear B tablets. I then turn to contemporary archaeological evidence and incorporate its information into the picture. I reiterate that these two data sets may provide very different views of religion during the Mycenaean phases at

Knossos. It is not my intention to make the two sets of evidence "fit" with each other; rather, I expect them in some cases to contradict each other and in other cases to reinforce and support each other.

D. Combining Approaches

The last thing to consider is how these three approaches can be combined and used simultaneously. The regional approach is applied first. I begin by providing in Chapter 2 an overview of Minoan religion on Crete and Mycenaean religion on the mainland. By surveying the generally accepted views about Aegean religion in these two distinct regions, I can more accurately examine and interpret the evidence from Knossos and evaluate any regional peculiarities in the material. I then examine the evidence temporally. To do so, I first review the debate concerning the dates of Knossos tablets in Chapter 3. Since it has been proposed that the tablets do not all date to the same period, it is necessary to consider the arguments for the various dates and establish a method for addressing the tablet evidence. The evidence from Knossos is divided into two distinct phases, as outlined above (Section III.C). Working within this temporal framework, I evaluate first the textual evidence for a given phase and then its contemporary archaeological evidence. Chapter 4 contains my assessment of the evidence for Phase I, and Chapter 5 takes account of the evidence for Phase II. Using this method, I believe we can obtain a more accurate view of the religion at Knossos during the Mycenaean period while still adhering to the limitations of the evidence.

Chapter 2: Overview of Minoan and Mycenaean Religions

I. INTRODUCTION

Most scholars would agree that Mycenaean religion was not uniform throughout the Greek-speaking Aegean world. Though some aspects of Mycenaean religion may be universal to all regions of Greece, Crete and the Cycladic islands, regional differences should be expected. One goal of this dissertation is to identify the unique characteristics of religion at the site of Knossos during the Mycenaean phases. Since the population of Knossos from LM II to LM IIIB1 consisted of a blend of Greek-speakers and the local Cretan/Minoan population, the religious beliefs and rituals naturally should involve some degree of syncretism between these two culturally distinct groups. Before we can examine the evidence for religion at Knossos during the periods when Greek-speakers exerted economic and administrative control over the region, it is important to outline what is known or generally accepted about Minoan religion.

In addition, a distinction must be made between Minoan religion on Crete and the religion of the mainland Mycenaeans. For this reason, I also provide an overview of the evidence for Mycenaean religion. Only then will it be possible to ferret out the various aspects of Late Bronze Age religion at Knossos that are typical of either Minoan or Mycenaean cult practices. Such an evaluation will help to assess the unique features of the religious beliefs and practices at this site. It should be noted at the outset that this chapter is in no way meant to be a comprehensive review of all that is known about

Minoan and Mycenaean religions. Instead, it focuses on the types of cult locales, equipment, and iconography that are common in Minoan and Mycenaean religious assemblages, with particular attention paid to material that finds parallels at the site of Knossos.

II. MINOAN RELIGION

Minoan religion, as far as I choose to define it for the purpose of this dissertation, refers to the beliefs and ritual practices of the Cretan population during the Aegean Bronze Age, beginning in the Early Minoan period (EM I) and continuing until the end of Late Minoan IB. After the widespread destructions that occurred throughout Crete in LM IB, the ethnic make-up of the island seems to have undergone significant changes, involving at the very least the influx of Greek-speaking peoples as attested by the first appearance of Linear B tablets at the palace of Knossos, perhaps as early as LM II.[31] The archaeological evidence for Minoan religion occurs in a variety of forms, including architectural remains, cult installations, votive offerings, and religious iconography that can be found in wall paintings and carvings on seals and signet rings. This section summarizes the various types of cult places, ritual equipment and religious symbols typical of Bronze Age Crete during the Proto- and Neopalatial periods (MM IB – LM IB). These phases of Minoan civilization immediately precede the period of Mycenaean occupation at Knossos. It is likely then that the religious system that existed during this time would have been influential to the newly-installed Greek speakers.

[31] Discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

A. Cult Symbols

Nearly every religion employs its own set of cult symbols or emblems which convey an abbreviated meaning for a larger idea or belief. Understanding and interpreting these symbols, especially for an ancient society, is often difficult and interpretations are often based more on our preconceived notions of religion and the supernatural than a critical evaluation of the evidence. The problem is further compounded by the fact that many Minoan religious symbols were used by mainland Mycenaeans and are often depicted on objects found in Mycenaean tomb and settlement contexts. For instance, several gold signet rings which are commonly believed to depict scenes of Minoan rituals, have been found in mainland tholos tombs and shaft graves.[32]

Naturally, it would be methodologically unsound to use these objects to interpret Minoan cult symbols. Unfortunately, such practices are utilized by most scholars who justify their approach by suggesting that many of these objects were of Cretan manufacture. As noted in Chapter 1 (Section I.C), several unanswerable questions arise regarding the presence of Minoan religious iconography in Mycenaean contexts. Given the methodological problems with such artifacts, I attempt to examine the evidence for Minoan cult symbols using only material from Minoan archaeological contexts; that is, finds and architecture that date from the beginning of the Middle Minoan period up to the end of the Neopalatial period (LM IB) and are found on the island of Crete. I believe that this approach will provide more reliable results.

[32] For example, a gold ring from Vapheio tholos tomb (Evans 1921-1935: I, 432 and fig. 310) and one from Mycenae (Evans 1901: 177, fig. 53), both of which depict a 'tree-shaking' scene believed to be a ritual common in Minoan cult practices.

1. Horns of Consecration

Horns of consecration are the most well known and often-discussed symbols in Minoan religious iconography. They were termed 'horns of consecration' by Evans[33] due to their resemblance to the horns of a bull, an animal believed to be important in Minoan cult (see below Section II.A4). Whether these objects are meant to be understood as schematic representations of bull horns is still open to debate, despite the seeming consensus among scholars to accept this interpretation and regardless of attempts by others to suggest a different origin and meaning for them.[34]

Actual horns of consecration, usually made of stone or stuccoed clay and ranging in size from miniature to monumental, occur repeatedly in the archaeological record.[35] These symbols are also commonly depicted on frescoes,[36] seals[37] and seal impressions,[38] as well as a variety of other objects.[39] D'Agata has analyzed the evidence for horns of consecration chronologically and notes that surviving Middle Minoan examples are limited to *appliqué* ornament on clay models and vases.[40] In the Neopalatial period (MM III-LM IB), they occur more frequently, primarily as architectural ornamentation,

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[33] Evans 1901: 9, 37-40. Their origin was suggested by a Mycenaean vase from Salamis on Cyprus where the horns of consecration occur alongside bucrania.

[34] Powell (1977) suggests that the horns of consecration may be connected to the Egyptian hieroglyphic sign for the horizon, while Diamant and Rutter (1969) notice a connection with Near Eastern 'horned' objects used as pot-stands and frequently found in association with hearths.

[35] D'Agata (1992: 248-249) divides the evidence into three groups based on size. Several monumental examples of horns of consecration were found at the peak sanctuary at Mount Juktas (D'Agata 1992: 249) and a large plaster pair was found at Nirou Khani dating to LM I (Evans 1921-1935: I, 437 and II, 281). Other important examples include four horns found at Palaikastro (Bosanquet 1902-1903: 280, fig. 2) and one stone and three clay horns from Tylissos (Hazzidakis 1934: 101).

[36] For example, the 'Grandstand Fresco' from Knossos (Evans 1921-1935: II, 597 and fig. 371).

[37] Such as on a crystal lentoid seal from the Idaean cave (Evans 1921-1935: I, 221 and fig. 167) and on a gem from Kydonia (Nilsson 1950: 148 and fig. 56)

[38] For instance, on the so-called 'Mother of the Mountain' seal from Knossos (Nilsson 1950: 352).

[39] On a bronze tablet from Psychro perhaps dating to LM I (Evans 1921-1935: I, 632 and fig. 470).

[40] D'Agata 1992: 248: examples include horns on miniature altars from the Loomweight Basement at Knossos (Evans 1921-1935: I, 221 and fig. 166 a, d) and on a tripod vase with a relief double axe from the MM II Sanctuary at Mallia (van Effenterre 1980: 442-444; Gesell 1985: 107 and fig. 8).

especially in association with Lustral Basins[41] and Tripartite Shrines[42] (see below Section II.C2 and 3, respectively).[43] In monumental instances, horns of consecration may have acted as markers for sanctuary entrances and miniature examples may have been used to indicate domestic or small shrine structures.[44]

It is unclear exactly what the horns of consecration meant to the Cretan people, yet their ritual significance is rarely, if ever, doubted. Nilsson, in his seminal work on Minoan-Mycenaean religion attempted to arrive at an understanding of them by examining objects frequently depicted between the horns themselves.[45] The most common objects are double axes,[46] libation jugs[47] and boughs,[48] which could represent the three types of offerings typically made to the gods: blood sacrifice, liquid libations and food/grain offerings, respectively. If this is the case, then the horns of consecration could indicate a place where ritual offerings take place. At the very least, some

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[41] As seen, for example, on a fresco from a niche in Lustral Basin LVIII from the Palace at Kato Zakros (Platon 1971: 182).

[42] As evidenced by the 'Grandstand Fresco' from Knossos (Evans 1921-1935: II, 597 and fig. 371) and the Zakros Peak Sanctuary rhyton (Platon 1971: 163-169).

[43] D'Agata (1992: 250) notes a change from the Middle Minoan period when horns of consecration primarily ornamented miniature altar models.

[44] Gesell 1985: 35. However, a monumental horns of consecration was found at the south entrance to the central court of the palace of Knossos. Following this interpretation, the central court would then be interpreted as some type of religious locale. Though some religious activities may have taken place in the central courts of Minoan palaces, the presence of a horns of consecration should not dictate this interpretation.

[45] Nilsson 1950: 1965-193.

[46] The connection with double axes is well-known: several examples of horns of consecration are fitted with a circular socket between the horns, presumably for the placement of a double axe, as suggested by several artistic renderings, such as on a larnax from Palaikastro (Bosanquet 1901-1902: 297-302 and pl. XVIII), on a Mycenaean style vase from Cyprus (Evans 1901: 107 and fig. 3) and a pottery fragment from Knossos dating to LM IIIB (Evans 1921-1935: II, 620 and fig. 390). However, all of these examples date to LM IIIA or later.

[47] For example, on a lentoid seal in the British Museum of unknown date (Nilsson 1950: 146 and fig. 52).

[48] Several examples are provided by Nilsson 1950: 170-171; Cretan examples include a gem from Lapidary's Workshop at Knossos depicting a stag-man, probably dating to LM IB (Evans 1900-1901: fig. 7b); and bronze tablet from Psychro with three separate horns with boughs between them, dating to LM I (Evans 1921-1935: 632, fig. 470).

connection with the double axe has been assumed based on the numerous examples of horns of consecration fitted with a circular socket between the horns. Most scholars presume that these sockets were for the placement of a double axe, a theory which is supported by iconography on seals and sealings.

Unfortunately, Nilsson's evaluation of the evidence does not take into account distinctions in the date and provenience of the objects depicting double axes situated between horns of consecration. In many cases, his data includes finds either dating *after* the LM II period or found in Mycenaean, rather than Minoan, contexts. In fact, the earliest extant example of horns of consecration containing a socket for a double axe dates to LM IIIA2,[49] well within the period characterized by a Mycenaean presence on the island of Crete. Moreover, depictions of double axes situated between horns of consecration belong to phases *after* the fall of the Minoan palaces (i.e. post LM IB). This evidence, therefore, should not be used to interpret the meaning of horns of consecration during the Middle Minoan and Neopalatial periods. The evidence from the purely 'Minoan' phase instead suggests that horns of consecration served as indicators of sacred space.[50]

2. Double Axes

The double axe is perhaps the most conspicuous Minoan cult symbol whose ritual meaning is more readily understandable in comparison to horns of consecration. Most scholars agree that the double axe is somehow symbolic of the act of animal sacrifice, as

[49] D'Agata (1992: 253-254) sees this as a change in the religious system that was forming on Crete during the 14th and 13th centuries, perhaps influenced by the newly-installed Mycenaean presence on the island.
[50] D'Agata (1992: 250-252), with a special connection in the Neopalatial period to architectural facades containing in columns.

the tool with which a sacrificial animal was slain.[51] Actual, functional examples of double axes occur in the archaeological record throughout Europe and the Near East beginning as early as the 5th millenium B.C.,[52] but here we are more concerned with the non-functional, symbolic uses of the object found on the island of Crete beginning in the Early Minoan period. Such double axes are either small votives and/or made of precious materials, making them unfit for practical use. Also to be considered are artistic depictions of double axes in seemingly ritual contexts.

Votive double axes occur as early as the Prepalatial period (EM IIB) in tombs at Mochlos.[53] In the Protopalatial period, the double axe is a common motif on pottery, though interestingly no votive examples are known.[54] It is during the Neopalatial period that the double-axe as a religious symbol flourishes, occurring at all major palatial and town sites. They vary in size from small votives to large cult objects. In addition, a number of large pyramidal stands with a hole bored through the flattened top have survived which are believed to have held double axes supported by a wooden pole.[55] This interpretation is supported by pictorial representations.[56]

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[51] First proposed by Nilsson (1950: 227) where he refutes earlier interpretations that the double axe was a symbol of a male divinity.

[52] Hawkes 1936-1937: 141-159 and fig. 2, nos. 1 and 2.

[53] A votive double axe probably made of copper was found in Tomb II (Seager 1912: 35-36, 107 and fig. 12, no. 46). Large stores of votive double axes from the cave sanctuaries of Arkhalohori and Psychro may also date to this period, though the precise date of these finds is difficult to ascertain (Nilsson 1950: 196).

[54] Gesell 1985: 16. It should be noted that the use of the double axe as a motif on pottery does not designate such vessels as ritual in function.

[55] The earliest example comes from a Protopalatial level in House E at Mallia (Deshayes and Dessenne 1959: 113 and 137 and pl. 50.5). Later examples include two LM IB double axe bases found in a deposit in Block N at Palaikastro along with miniature horns of consecration, rhyta and conical cups (Sackett, Popham, *et. al.* 1965: 257 and fig. 22, nos. 100 and 101). Sackett and Popham compare them to other LM IB double axe stands from Phaistos and Tylissos.

[56] As seen on the Hagia Triadha sarcophagus (Long 1974: 35 and fig. 37) and on a vase fragment from Knossos (Mackenzie 1903: 204 and fig. 15), though both of these examples date *after* the LM IB destructions on Crete. The author could not find a depiction of a double axe supported by a wooden pole mounted on a double axe stand that dated earlier than these. Evans, however, mentions a stepped steatite

The symbol of the double axe seems to have a close connection with a specific type of Minoan shrine: the so-called Pillar Crypt (see below Section II.C1). At the site of Knossos, double axe bases have been found in three different Pillar Crypts[57] and another was unearthed in a Pillar Crypt in House A at Tylissos.[58] In addition, double axes are frequently inscribed on the pillars themselves.[59] That is not to say that double axes are exclusively associated with Pillar Crypts; their bases also occur in other contexts[60] and incised double axes are inscribed in areas other than Pillar Crypt Complexes.[61] During the Postpalatial period, the double axe seems to become less prominent, perhaps because Pillar Crypts were no longer used.

3. Anthropomorphic Cult Figures

A wide array of anthropomorphic figures, both male and female, has been associated with Minoan religion. The identification of such figures has always been a matter of debate and constitutes one of the most methodologically problematic issues surrounding the study of Minoan religion. Female figures are often viewed as representations of goddesses, priestesses or adorants, whereas male figures, rarely viewed as divinities, are most often interpreted as worshippers or in some cases the young male

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double axe base was found in the same deposit as a large bronze double axe in the Psychro Cave during excavations he was undertaking in 1896 (Evans 1921-1935: I, 438 and fig. 315).

[57] In the Little Palace (Evans 1921-1935: II, 527), the South House (Evans 1921-1935: II, 386) and the Southeast House (Evans 1921-1935: I, 427).

[58] Hazzidakis 1934: 13-15.

[59] At Knossos, numerous double axes are inscribed on the pillars in the Central Court Sanctuary Pillar Crypt which is discussed in detail in Chapter 4 (Section III.A); in the Southeast House (Evans 1921-1935: I, 427); in the Temple Tomb (Evans 1921-1935: IV, 971). At Mallia, in Room VII-4 (van Effenterre 1980: 348 and fig. 479).

[60] As in the Bench sanctuary in the House of the High Priest at Knossos (Evans 1921-1935: IV, 209 and fig. 160b); in Neopalatial deposits from Palaikastro (Sackett and Popham 1965: 257 and fig. 22, nos. 100 and 101); Haghia Triadha (Gesell 1985: 76-77).

[61] On the walls leading into the magazines at Knossos and Zakros (Platon 1971: 208).

consort of the Minoan goddess.[62] The problem begins with the difficulty in identifying these figures either as divinities or humans engaging in some type of ritual activity. In most cases, the identifications are not systematic; that is, the criteria for seeing one representation as a goddess and another as an adorant are usually not clearly outlined.[63] Instead, interpretations are based on the poses exhibited by the figures, their clothing and various attributes depicted with them. It is not my purpose to arrive at any clear 'answers' to these methodological problems. And, for the most part such answers are irrelevant to this dissertation since regardless of the specific identification of these figures, most scholars agree that they are in some way connected to Minoan religion. Rather, I hope to outline some of the problems and determine in what instances such figures can at the very least be indicative of typical aspects of Minoan religion.

Anthropomorphic cult figures occur in a variety of different media, including figures and figurines (usually votive), carvings on seals and signet rings, and painted on frescoes. Female figures are most frequently depicted wearing standard 'Minoan' garb: a tight-fitting bodice with their breasts exposed and long flounced skirt.[64] In some cases, their hair is bound in the back with what has been termed a 'sacred knot'.[65] In addition, sacral knots occur on seal impressions and signet rings, often floating in isolation, or as actual objects made out of ivory or faience.[66]

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[62] Marinatos (1993: 171-174 and 188-192) refers to the divine male consort as the 'Young God'.

[63] The exception is Wedde (1992) who has attempted to provide systematic criteria for 'reading' Aegean glyptic images.

[64] Such as the well-known 'snake goddesses' from the Temple Repositories at Knossos (Evans 1921-1935: I, 500-510 and figs. 359-363.

[65] Sacral knots are worn by the so-called 'La Parisienne' from Knossos (Evans 1921-1935: 433 and fig. 311) and the female figure in the 'Jewel Fresco' from Knossos (Evans 1921-1935: I, 525).

[66] Marinatos 1993: 143 and n. 69-71. For examples on seal impressions and signet rings, see Nilsson 1950: 162-164; for examples on ivory and faience, Evans 1921-1935: I, 431, fig. 309 and Nilsson 1950: 162-163. Nilsson is not convinced that these images are sacral, but rather merely ornamental.

The figures and figurines can occur in a variety of poses, with one or both arms raised[67] or with their arms under their breasts.[68] Many are standing or apparently dancing,[69] but a great number are often seated either in front an architectural facade or on a rock in an outdoor setting. Seated figures are often being approached by other individuals, usually interpreted as offerants, who are bringing them gifts, especially rhyta. Female figures are also often accompanied by a variety of animals and/or composite creatures, such as griffins or the so-called Minoan 'genii'. Admittedly, less variety is employed in the depiction of male figures. Most often they are shown with their hand to their head in a saluting pose, which becomes common in the Neopalatial period.[70] Votives of this type are often made of bronze.

4. Animals

Numerous types of animals are often depicted in Minoan religious iconography. Bulls are by far the most common, but other animals such as goats, snakes and birds also frequently appear. Bulls can occur in the form of rhyta, ritual vessels used for the pouring of libations (see below, Section II.B). Such rhyta take the shape of either the full body of the bull[71] or just the bull's head,[72] a form which becomes especially popular in the Neopalatial period. The bull as a religious symbol is first attested in the Early

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[67] A variety of examples from Haghia Triadha (Gesell 1985: fig. 65).
[68] Such an example was found in Room 10 at Phaistos (Gesell 1985: fig. 62).
[69] For instance, a group at Palaikastro (Gesell 1985: fig. 66).
[70] For example, bronze examples were found at Haghia Triadha and Tylissos (Gesell 1985: 34 and fig. 63).
[71] Such rhyta appear first in tombs in MM I, such as in Mochlos (Seager 1912: 58-60, fig. 29). In MM II, this shape is found in Room 102 at Phaistos (Pernier 1935: I, 360 and fig. 213) and at Pseira in the Neopalatial period (Seager 1914: 30-32; Gesell 1985: 134 and fig. 93).
[72] Several Protopalatial examples come from mixed deposits at Phaistos and MM II deposits at Knossos (Evans 1921-1935: I, 237).

Minoan period either as votive figurines or as rhyta.[73] During the Protopalatial period, the only clear examples of bulls are in the form of rhyta. In the Neopalatial period, bull rhyta seem to be connected to Pillar Crypt Complexes[74] and our most elaborate examples, often made of stone, come from this period. Bulls are also often the subject of frescoes, most notably in the bull leaping frescoes from Knossos (see below Chapter 4, Section III.C3). However, the so-called 'Taureador' frescoes from Knossos are believed to date to LM II/IIIA,[75] which places them during the phase when Greek-speaking administrators were present at the palace. For this reason, it is incautious to use these frescoes as evidence for Minoan religious practice (if in fact these bull leaping activities are religious in nature). Despite this difficulty, ample evidence for bull games exists from the Proto- and Neopalatial periods.[76] During the Postpalatial period, the bull as a religious symbol, and bull-rhyta as religious equipment, become less common.[77]

The *agrimi*, the Cretan wild goat, often occurs in Minoan religious contexts either depicted on sealings and sealstones[78] or in the form of votive offerings. No known examples of votive *agrimia* are found in settlements during the Protopalatial period. However, a wild goat horn found in Room IL of the Lower West Court Sanctuary at Phaistos seems to attest to the sacredness of this animal in the Protopalatial period.[79] In addition, votive *agrimia* dating to Protopalatial period occur at the Petsofa Peak

[73] Warren 1972: 219-220 and fig. 95: three fragments were found, two bull heads (nos. 71 and 72) and one body fragment (no. 73). Nos. 72 and 73 are clearly rhyton fragments and may be from the same vessel.
[74] Including the Southwest Pillar Crypt in Little Palace (Evans 1921-1935: II, 527-30 and fig. 330-332), Tomb of Double Axes at Knossos (Dawkins 1910: 362) and Room 102 at Phaistos (Pernier 1935: I, 360 and fig. 213)
[75] Immerwahr 1990: 90-92.
[76] Younger 1995: 539-542.
[77] Gesell 1985: 62.
[78] Bloedow 1992: 15-23.
[79] Gesell 1985: 16 and cat. 103.

Sanctuary.[80] During the Neopalatial period, the symbol of *agrimia* in religious iconography is more widely used, both in the form of votives and in relief decoration. For example, two bronze *agrimia* were found in the Pillar Crypt at Haghia Triadha[81] and at Palaikastro a rhyton has the head of an *agrimi* attached to the shoulder of the vessel.[82] The most famous example of Cretan wild goats in a religious setting, of course, is on the Peak Sanctuary Rhyton from Zakros, on which several goats are resting on a Tripartite Shrine or climbing the rocky cliffs surrounding the building.[83]

In addition to *agrimia*, birds and snakes seems to be common Minoan religious cult symbols. Iconographically, birds are most often depicted perched upon columns or, as in the Peak Sanctuary rhyton mentioned above, on top of horns of consecration. Evans suggests that the birds were "the outward and visible sign of the divine presence and protection.[84] Bird figurines are also attested in the archaeological record and, according to Gesell, the bird is connected with female figurines in the Neopalatial period.[85] Snakes, too, are often shown in association with female cult figures, as in the famous 'snake goddess' figurines from the Temple Repositories at Knossos.[86] Evans proposed the existence of a snake cult involving the feeding of sacred snakes, based on the finds from a domestic deposit in the House Southwest of the northwest Treasury, which included jugs with applied plastic snakes.[87] Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine the validity of Evans' interpretations both regarding the existence of some type of snake feeding

[80] Myres 1901: 377 and pl. XIII, no. 58.
[81] Gesell 1985: 74 and pl. 64
[82] Dawkins 1903-1904: 204-207 and fig. 4.
[83] Platon 1971: 163-169.
[84] As on the model of columns from the Loomweight basement at Knossos (Evans 1921-1935: 222 and fig. 166f).
[85] Gesell 1985: 34 and fig. 103. Gesell notes that in the Neopalatial period the bird is connected with female figurines.
[86] Evans 1921-1935: I, 500-510 and figs. 359-363.
[87] Evans 1921-1935: IV, 138-171 and fig. 109, nos. 2, 3.

rituals and about birds as symbols of divine manifestations, even though many scholars accept them as important aspects of Minoan religion.

B. Cult Installations and Equipment

Cult installations and equipment are objects that are believed to have been used for some ritual purpose. The distinction between cult installations and cult equipment is that the former denote permanent, usually built, structures and the latter moveable objects, usually found in religious locales. What distinguishes their use as 'ritual' is often the fact that they do not appear to have another 'functional' purpose and often are associated with or found in the same context as religious symbols.

The incurving altar is perhaps the most common and easily identifiable example of an object used in Minoan cult practices. As the name suggests, the sides of these altar curve sharply inward. In form, they vary considerably and can be either permanent installations or moveable finds. This type of altar can be found most frequently in iconographical representations, such as on the Zakros Peak Sanctuary Rhyton (see below Section IIC.3) or the Griffin fresco from the Throne Room at Knossos (see below Chapter 4, Section IIIB). In the fresco, two schematic representations of incurved altars are depicted on the either side of the throne.[88] Actual altars, though rarer, also occur,[89] and variants of the form can have a narrower base.[90] In addition, a model of an incurving

[88] Evans 1921-1935: IV, 919-920 and fig. 894. The connection between incurving altars and throne lead Marinatos (1993: 6) to posit that one of the main functions of incurving altars "was to form the substructure or support for a throne or platform on which the goddess sat."
[89] An example made of limestone from the House of the High Priest at Knossos (Evans 1921-1935: IV, 209-211 and fig. 160a); four incurving altars were found at the site of Archanes near the entrance to the Cretan Megaron (Daux 1967: 784-785).
[90] Such as the altar from Hagia Nikolaos, see Dawkins 1923: 137-138, fig. 119a.

altar was found in the Loomweight Basement Deposit at Knossos along with numerous miniature votives.[91] Interestingly, the iconography of the incurved altar was frequently assumed by the Mycenaeans, for example on the Lion's Gate at Mycenae where the altar supports a Minoan-style column.

Offering tables are another type of Minoan cult object and have a variety of different forms.[92] Some are fairly large, fixed installations, containing several cupules. The large examples are usually made of stone and often are found near entrances to tombs or buildings.[93] However, the more common type of offering table is small and moveable, is made of terracotta and often has a red glaze or wash. They are usually circular and can have a central cupule, a flat surface or a raised edge. The function of these tables is debated. Many show signs of burning, suggesting that they may have been used as hearths, perhaps for burnt offerings.[94] It has also been suggested that food offerings were placed on these tables,[95] and those with several cupules could suggest that multiple offerings were made at a time.

Stone libation tables are found on Crete beginning in the Protopalatial period and continue into the Neopalatial period.[96] They are either square or rectangular in shape, and have a circular bowl, presumably to receive libations. In the Neopalatial period, libation tables can have either a pedestal base or stepped base that decreases in size

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[91] Evans 1921-1935: I, 220-221 and fig. 166H.

[92] For a more detailed discussion of the different types of offering tables and their development over time see Gesell 1985: 15, 33 and 63.

[93] For example, the offering table found in front of the West Court Pillar Crypt at the palace of Mallia (van Effenterre 1980: 62-63 and fig. 87). For a full discussion of the various types of offerings tablets in the Proto- and Neopalatial periods, see Gesell 1985: 15 and 33-34.

[94] Gesell 1985: 15.

[95] Marinatos 1993: 7.

[96] Gesell 1985: 63.

towards the bottom.[97] The more well-known examples contain a formulaic inscription in Linear A.[98]

The rhyton is perhaps the most ubiquitous type of Minoan cult equipment with a fairly obvious ritual purpose.[99] These vessels occur in a wide array of forms, but all have single feature in common: a hole in the bottom for the pouring of libations.[100] Many are made of clay and can be conical, piriform, spherical or ovoid in form. The more elaborate examples are made of stone, metal, faience or ostrich egg and can be zoomorphic in form.[101] Rhyta are found in all types of Minoan shrines and sanctuaries, but the bull's head rhyton seems to be specifically connected to Pillar Crypts.[102]

Related to the rhyta are jugs, another type of vessel which seems to have been used in ritual libations. Though jugs can have a purely secular function, they are depicted frequently in iconography in seemingly religious contexts. For example, they are often shown on seals placed in between horns of consecration, a typical Minoan cult symbol (see above Section IIA)[103] or are carried by the so-called Minoan 'genii'.[104]

Triton shells and imitation tritons are also believed to have been Minoan cult objects.[105] That triton shells were used in religious rites is supported by a gem from the Idaean cave which depicts a female figure standing in front an incurved altar with horns

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[97] Gesell 1985: 63.
[98] Brice 1983.
[99] Nilsson (1950: 146), however, questions the sacral function of these vessels. He suggests that they were "fanciful vessels of luxury which were sometimes also dedicated to the gods or used in cult."
[100] Marinatos 1993: 5.
[101] The most well-known steatite bull's head rhyton was found a Kato Zakros, (Platon 1971: 161-163).
[102] Gesell 1985: 33.
[103] For an example, see the lentoid seal from the British Museum in Nilsson 1950: 146, fig. 52.
[104] For an example, see the gem from Kydonia in Nilsson 1950: 148, fig. 56.
[105] According to Nilsson (1950: 153), they are found in tombs and deposits beginning as early as the Neolithic period.

of consecration above it.[106] The woman is shown blowing into an oversized triton shell. It seems likely that these shells were used as a type of trumpet, perhaps providing music for the rites. Triton shells also occur in association with other cult objects.[107] In some cases, triton shells have been hollowed out to form a vessel.[108] In addition, imitations of triton shells are made out of stone.[109]

C. Cult Locales

Minoans worshipped their gods in a variety of different cult places. Some were located within larger architectural structures, such as a room in a palace or villa, whereas others were situated in areas quite a distance from the main settlement sites, such as cave and peak sanctuaries. Since this dissertation is only addressing the evidence from the palace of Knossos, a review of the evidence for cave and peak sanctuaries is not pertinent.[110] Instead, I concentrate my discussion on the types of shrines typically found within palatial structures.

1. Pillar Crypts[111]

Pillar Crypts[112] refer to small, rectangular rooms containing one to three square pillars that occur frequently in Minoan palatial[113] and villa[114] architecture, as well as in

[106] Nilsson 1950: 153, fig. 61.
[107] For example, a triton shell was found in the Upper West Court Sanctuary at Phaistos, along with two offering tables and a stone libation table (Gesell 1985: 120).
[108] Examples come from Pseira (Seager 1914: 25).
[109] For example, an alabaster triton shell was found in the Room of the Stone Vases near the East Pillar Room at Knossos (Evans 1899-1901: 31).
[110] For detailed discussions on Peak Sanctuaries, see Peatfield 1983, 1987 and 1990 and more recently Kyriakidis 2005. For cave sanctuaries, see Marinatos 1993: 123-126; Rutkowski 1986: 65-67; and Tyree 1974. For a comparison of the two types, see Jones 1999.
[111] For general discussions on Pillar Crypts, see Rutkowski 1986: 21-45; Gesell 1985: 26-29; and Marinatos 1993: 87-98.

tombs.[115] In addition to central pillars, these rooms, which are usually found in the basement levels of buildings,[116] often contain small receptacles and/or channels dug into the floor at the base of the pillar(s).[117] The double axe, a common Minoan cult symbol (see above Section II.A2), seems to be associated in some way with Pillar Crypts. Schematic representations of them often are inscribed on the pillars and/or pyramidal stands for actual double axes are sometimes found in these rooms.[118] Since Pillar Crypts are small rooms, the pillars themselves do not seem to be structurally required to prop up the ceiling. Rather, these pillars probably supported a column in a room directly above the Pillar Crypt,[119] which was accessed via a nearby staircase. Anterooms and annexes are often present in Pillar Crypt complexes,[120] some of which may have housed cult

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[112] Some scholars, especially those who question a religious function for Pillar Crypts, prefer to call them pillar basements (Rehak and Younger 2001). For the sake of clarity, I use the more common terminology 'Pillar Crypts'; however, I do not intend for this term to imply that all rooms conforming to the features of Pillar Crypts were used for cult. Rather, the evidence from each Pillar Crypt must be evaluated individually to arrive at a religious interpretation.

[113] Several examples can be found at the palace at Knossos and surrounding buildings, as well as at Mallia and Phaistos (Gesell 1985: 26-29), but none at Zakros.

[114] Such as Room 17 at Hagia Triadha and examples from Houses A and Γ at Tylissos.

[115] Examples include the circular tomb at Apesokari, Tholos B at Arkhanes, the Temple Tomb at Knossos and the Tomb of the Double Axes from the Isopatra cemetery near Knossos.

[116] Platon (1954) was one of the first to discuss the specific characteristic features of Pillar Crypts, and he notes the significance of their placement in basement levels, creating dark spaces with little penetrable light.

[117] In the Pillar Crypt in Room D of the Royal Villa, the pillar was set on paved floor which was surrounded by a channel on all sides; on the east and west sides of the channel, two vats were sunk further into the ground (Evans 1921-1935: 406ff. and fig. 235).

[118] The Pillar Crypt Complex in the Southeast House at Knossos has three double axes inscribed on its pillar and a pyramidal stand next to the pillar itself (Evans 1921-1935: 427-430.)

[119] Column bases have been found in two different pillar crypts, which led Evans to reconstruct what he termed an 'Upper Column Room.' For an actual restoration, see the Southwest Pillar Crypt from the Palace at Knossos (Evans 1921-1935: IV, 3-5). Actual bases came from the House of Chancel Screen (Evans 1921-1935: II, 393) and two bases seem to be associated with the East Pillar Crypt of the Central Sanctuary Complex (see below: Chapter 4, Section III.A).

[120] Gesell 1985: 26. See also the Southwest Pillar Crypt Complex in the Little Palace at Knossos (Evans 1921-1935: 27-540).

equipment.[121] Pillar Crypts appear as early as MM IB in Quartier θ at Mallia and the House of the Monolithic Pillars at Knossos,[122] but they reach their canonical form in the Neopalatial palaces.[123] They are limited geographically to sites in central and southern Crete.

A wide range of interpretations have been put forth regarding the purposes of Pillar Crypts. Some refute any religious function for these rooms, suggesting they were used primarily for storage.[124] Others believe that the pillar itself may have served as an aniconic representation of the divinity, a theory first put forth by Evans,[125] but one that receives little support in more recent scholarship.[126] The receptacles and basins around the pillar(s) imply some type of libation ritual, a theory which is supported by ritual vessels, such as rhyta, sometimes found in Pillar Crypts. Unfortunately, evidence for other types of ritual practices is not available, perhaps because the rituals may have taken place on the upper storey. Many scholars accept that Pillar Crypts had some connection with the room directly above them, which Evans referred to as Upper Column Rooms. In some cases, ritual equipment appears to have fallen into Pillar Crypts from these Upper Column Rooms,[127] suggesting that, if rituals occurred in the room above, perhaps the Pillar Crypts were only tangentially related to cult (such as storerooms for cult

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[121] For example, pigment and bronze cauldrons were found in an annex to the Pillar Crypt in House A at Tylissos (Gesell 1985: 27).

[122] For House of Monolithic Pillars, see Evans 1921-1935: I, 146; for the Pillar Crypt in Quartier θ, see van Effenterre 1976.

[123] Such as the Pillar Crypt located west of the central court at the palace at Mallia.

[124] Rehak and Younger 2001: 436

[125] Evans 1901: 110.

[126] Nilsson was the first to refute Evans idea with a more systematic examination of Pillar Crypts. He admits that the pillars may have been considered sacred, but considers a purely secular interpretation equally viable (Nilsson 1950: 236-261, especially 248).

[127] For example, a double axe base and a serpentine bull's head rhyton were found in the debris from the Upper Column Room from the Southwest Pillar Crypt Complex in the Little Palace at Knossos (Evans 1921-1935: II, 527-540).

equipment) or they were the location of more hidden rites which included libations (as suggested above). Other evidence to support a religious interpretation for Pillar Crypts is the fact that these rooms are also found in tombs, which may suggest a connection between funerary and palatial/villa cult practices.[128]

In an effort to clarify the issue, I have applied my 'Revised Indicators of Cult' (see Chapter 1, Section II.B) to interpret the possible religious function of Pillar Crypts. Primary indicators would be as follows: (1) the channels and basins, if used for the pouring of libations, could be interpreted as special facilities for ritual practice; (2) rhyta and other ritual pouring vessels could be considered special portable equipment employed in the cult practice; and (3) the pillars themselves and the columns on the second storey, as well as the double axe stands and the axes that they supported, could have served as attention focusing devices.[129] The only secondary indicators would be the use of repeated symbols (the double axe) and in some cases, an investment of wealth in the equipment and offerings.[130] Pillar crypts would be an example of a built shrine. Since they were generally located in basement levels (i.e. not necessarily accessible to the general public) and the basins and receptacles found in them are suggestive of ritual libations, these rooms may have been used for hidden or more exclusive rituals, which would be another primary indicator associated with built shrines. The number of primary and secondary indicators of cult activity associated with Pillar Crypts is considerable and based on this analysis of the common characteristics of these rooms, I would propose that the *overall* evidence in support of a religious interpretation for Pillar Crypts should be

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[128] Marinatos 1993: 87-94; Gesell 1985: 26.

[129] Or, if one accepts Evans' interpretation, as aniconic representations of the divine.

[130] Some stone rhyta might fall into this category. In addition, a few Pillar Crypts contained items made of precious materials, such as the South House crypt at Knossos where silver bowls and jugs were found. (Evans 1921-1935: 386-389.)

considered **STRONG**. In fact, I believe that numerous extant Pillar Crypts could confidently be regarded as cult locales.[131] However, not all of these features are present in *every* Pillar Crypt. Unfortunately, scholars use the evidence from Pillar Crypts with a strong likelihood of being religious to identify as religious other rooms containing a pillar or pillars which otherwise lack the necessary criteria associated with cult use. Gesell discusses several Pillar Crypts that do not contain sufficient evidence to be clearly identified as cult locales.[132] In such cases, I believe that a religious function for these Pillar Crypts only should be considered **LIKELY**, since their interpretation is based on their architectural parallels with crypts whose ritual function has been demonstrated.

2. Lustral Basins[133]

A Lustral Basin is a typical Minoan-style shrine that consists of a sunken floor accessed by an L-shaped or dog-leg shaped staircase.[134] They can be found throughout the island of Crete, making their first appearance in MM II in Quartier Mu at Mallia.[135] However, the vast majority of Lustral Basins are Neopalatial in date and this shrine type goes out of use after the widespread destructions that occurred across Crete in LM IB.[136]

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[131] Numerous examples can be found at the site of Knossos and its surrounding buildings, including those in the Central Sanctuary Area of the palace (see below, Chapter 4, Section III.A) and in the Southeast House, as well as the Southwest Pillar Crypt Complex in the Little Palace. For a full discussion of the many Pillar Crypts in the Neopalatial period and the evidence to support their religious interpretations, see Gesell 1985: 26-28.

[132] For example, the Southwest Pillar Crypt in the palace at Knossos, Room E30 at Gournia, and the House of the Pillar Basement at Mallia. For additional examples and discussion, see Gesell 1985: 28-29.

[133] For general discussions on Lustral Basins, see Gesell 1985: 22-26; Rutkowski 1986: 131-135; and Marinatos 1993: 77-87.

[134] The number of steps can range from three to sixteen (Gesell 1985: 22).

[135] Specifically, room I 3, 4: see Rehak and Younger 2001: 436; Gesell 1985: 112, figs. 42 and 57. It is noteworthy at this is the only Lustral Basin dating to the Protopalatial period.

[136] The exception, of course, is the Lustral Basin from the Throne Room at Knossos (see below Chapter 4, Section III.B).

Most Lustral Basins are found in palaces and villas (both of which can have more than one), and are often associated with the so-called Cretan Megaron, large rooms that are divided up by pier-and-door partitions. It should be noted, however, that Lustral Basins can occur both in publicly accessible places within these buildings[137] and in areas that may have been for the private use of the residents.[138] Unfortunately, many (though not all) Lustral Basins were devoid of any artifactual evidence that would aid in determining the purpose of these architecturally distinct rooms.

The uniqueness of these rooms is worth discussing in more detail. In order to construct these rooms, extensive digging was often required, sometimes to quite a substantial depth and in some cases into the bedrock itself. Most often, stone or gypsum stairs were installed, and a parapet surrounded the stairs that ended in a pilaster and column. The most elaborate examples have a columned parapet bordering the staircase.[139] The interior of these basins are often lined with gypsum, plastered rock or cement and walls above them were either plastered or decorated with frescoes. The expenditure of time and labor required to build these rooms and the wealth invested in their construction materials have suggested to some scholars that these rooms were designed for special (i.e. religious) purposes.[140]

Such hypotheses are supported by the few examples that do contain cult equipment, the most common of which are rhyta (perhaps for libations or purification rites);[141] however, these Lustral Basins are in the minority. In some cases, ritual

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[137] Such as the Lustral Basin (Room XXIV) in the palace at Zakros (Platon 1971: 127-132) and the Northwest Lustral Basin in the Palace at Knossos (Evans 1921-1935: I, 405-414).

[138] Rooms 19 and 21 at the palace at Phaistos, according to Gesell 1985: 25.

[139] As can be seen in the Lustral Basin in the Little Palace at Knossos (Evans 1921-1935: II. 519-525).

[140] For example, Gesell 1985: 22.

[141] The Lustral Basin (Room 63d) at Phaistos provides the strongest evidence for cult use, including a bull's head rhyton, a piriform rhyton, two pairs of horns of consecrations, red pigment and a bird's nest

paraphernalia have been identified in rooms adjacent to or in the close proximity of Lustral Basins,[142] but it is difficult to determine if these neighboring rooms, and the finds associated with them, were related to whatever ritual activities (if any) that may have occurred in Lustral Basins.

Debates have arisen regarding the function of Lustral Basins.[143] Since these rooms are small and allow for a certain degree of privacy, they could have served as bathrooms. Lustral Basins are lined with water resistant material[144] and could have been filled with water for bathing. Otherwise, water could be poured over the balustrade onto the bather below. However, only one Lustral Basin was equipped with a drain,[145] making the removal of the water more difficult. The issue is further complicated by the fact that Lustral Basins occur in both private and public areas of the palaces and villas. If they were found only in so-called 'residential' sections, they could more easily be interpreted as private bathrooms for the palatial elites. Yet, some Lustral Basins, such as the one in the Throne Room at Knossos (see below, Chapter 4, Section III.B), in what appear to be more 'public' areas of the palace[146] and are associated with known cult equipment. In such instances, Lustral Basins are believed to been have used in ritual purification ceremonies[147] or for initiatory rites which would utilize the pier-and-door partitions as a means of restricting the number of participants and/or their view of rites being

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bowl, all of which was found on the paving of the room (Gesell 1985: 23). Rutkowski (1986: 134) also mentions nine bronze double axes.

[142] In the palace at Zakros, the so-called Treasure Room located behind one of the Lustral Basins (Room XXIV) contained a variety of rhyta, chalices, and votive double axes (Platon 1971: 127-132).

[143] For an overview of the arguments, see Graham 1987: 99-108.

[144] The idea that gypsum is not water resistant has been refuted by Graham (1987: 104) and as Gesell (1985: 22) notes, the gypsum-lined footbath in the Caravanserai supports Graham's arguments.

[145] The Lustral Basin in Tylissos C, Gesell 1985: 22, citing Graham 1977: 118 and n. 30. Gesell (1985: 24) also notes that, at Palaikastro, the construction of a Lustral Basin actually blocked a working drain.

[146] I would consider the Throne Room a 'public' area given its easy accessibility from the Central Court.

[147] Rutkowski 1986: 131-135.

undertaken.[148] Nordfeldt has argued that the so-called 'residential quarters' offer little evidence to prove that these rooms were used solely as living areas. Instead, she argues that many of the residential areas belong to an architectural system designed for ritual ceremonies.[149] If this is the case, it is unnecessary to apply two drastically different interpretations (bathroom vs. cult locale) for architecturally homogeneous rooms, based simply on their location within larger buildings.

Applying the Indicators of Cult may aid in the interpretation of Lustral Basins. Their architectural layout could suggest specialized facilities for ritual practices, one of the primary indicators: (1) the basin itself and the fact that it is lined with water resistant material could indicate some type of ceremony rituals involving water or another type of liquid, such as ritual bathing or anointing; (2) the balustrade could have been the place where such a liquid was poured into the basin onto a cult participant and/or it may have served as place to view the rites below. However, although these features of Lustral Basins *could* have been used in ritual activities, they are not *necessarily* cult features. On the other hand, various types of rhyta found in or associated with Lustral Basins can serve as a strong primary indicator (i.e. special equipment employed in the cult). Secondary indicators vary significantly among the different Lustral Basins. For instance, two pairs of horns of consecration and numerous double axes in the basin at Phaistos (Room 63d)[150] could act as evidence for repeated symbols, especially since both cult emblems are ubiquitous in Minoan religious iconography (see above, Section II.A). Double axes were also found in the Treasure Room associated with the basin at Zakros, along with oil

[148] Marinatos 1993: 83-87. Note that her interpretation relies heavily on the fresco from Xeste 3 at the site site of Akrotiri on the island of Thera, which is methodologically problematic. Rehak and Younger (2001: 436) support the idea that Lustral Basins could have been used in female initiation rites.
[149] Nordfeldt 1987: 187-193.
[150] Gesell 1985: 23; Rutkowski 1986: 134.

and wine supplies.[151] The oil equipment may have been used for ritual anointing and the wine perhaps for ritual drinking ceremonies. In addition, clay flasks, presumably for oil, came from the Northwest Lustral Basin at Knossos.[152] The wine could act as a device for inducing the religious experience (a secondary indicator) and the evidence for oil might be considered equipment used in cult practices (a primary indicator). The architectural arrangement of Lustral Basins which may be suggestive of hidden or exclusive rites provides additional primary evidence associated with built shrines and the investment of wealth and expenditure of time required to construct these rooms, would be a secondary indicator.

If the evidence for all Lustral Basins could be pulled together, I would consider these rooms to be **LIKELY** used for cult purposes. However, as mentioned above in reference to Pillar Crypts, each Lustral Basin should be evaluated on its own merits. I would say, though, that given the uniqueness of the construction and the overall uniformity of the room type, I find it difficult to believe that their function varied greatly from site to site. Considering the expenditure of time and wealth in the creation of Lustral Basins, I am not convinced that they were used solely as bathrooms, even for people as important as the palatial elites.

3. Tripartite Shrines[153]

The Tripartite Shrine is believed to be a Minoan-style cult locale which, as the name suggests, is divided into three sections. The central section is usually at a higher

[151] Along with numerous other finds suggestive of cult practices, see Platon 1971: 133-148.
[152] Evans 1921-1935: I, 405-414.
[153] For general discussions of Tripartite Shrines, see Shaw (1978) and Gesell (1985: 29-30).

elevation than the wings. One or two columns are often present in each of the three divisions and horns of consecration, a common Minoan religious symbol (see above, Section II.A1), often decorate the roofs of these structures. Unfortunately, our evidence for Tripartite Shrines is primarily iconographic.[154] Equally problematical is the fact that much of the iconography occurs on artifacts found on the mainland, though generally believed to be of Cretan manufacture or at least influenced by Minoan religious iconography. The problems with interpreting Minoan-style religious objects found in mainland Mycenaean contexts are addressed briefly in Chapter 1 (see Section I.C). Likewise, methodological difficulties would arise if we attempted to describe aspects of Minoan religion using objects found on the mainland, usually in funerary contexts. For this reason, my discussion of Tripartite Shrines will only address evidence from sites on Crete.

The two most well-known iconographic examples of Tripartite Shrines are depicted in the Knossos 'Grandstand' Fresco[155] and the Zakros Peak Sanctuary Rhyton.[156] The Knossos fresco was found in area to the northwest of the palace's central court and shows an architectural structure divided into three sections. Large groups of men and women are seated around the building. The shrine itself seems to be situated in a larger architectural setting as indicated by the placement on either side of terraces and tiers that make up the so-called 'grandstand,' the construction of which includes supporting pillars. The central portion of the Tripartite Shrine is raised up from the ground level and the platform upon which it rests is decorated with two half rosettes. Two columns are depicted here, both of which are centered behind horns of consecration.

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[154] Shaw 1978.
[155] Evans 1921-1935: III, 29-65 and pl. XVI; Hood 2005: 63-64.
[156] Platon 1971: 163-169.

The flanking lower sections each contain a single column with horns of consecration placed on either side. Additional horns of consecration are restored as crowning the roofs of all three sections, though the fresco itself does not provide definitive evidence for this. The reconstruction is based upon a shrine depicted on a fragment of gold leaf from Volos in Thessaly.[157]

The reconstructed horns of consecration also find a parallel with the Tripartite Shrine shown on the Zakros rhyton. This rhyton depicts a building divided into three sections, the central section being taller than the sides and at a lower elevation. Each flanking section is topped with two horns of consecration and a bird perched above them. Four agrimia are portrayed atop the central portion. The entire building appears to be set on a platform with steps leading down into a courtyard that is enclosed by a low wall. Additional horns of consecration decorate some of these walls. Three altar-like structures of varying sizes are depicted in the courtyard, one of which looks like an incurving altar frequently seen in Minoan religious iconography (see above Section II.B1). The largest altar is a long, broad structure located in the middle of the court, in front of and on axis with the Tripartite Shrine. The third altar is placed off to the left near the temenos wall and seems to consist of two tiers. The upper tier is crowned by yet another depiction of horns of consecration. A conjectural perspective drawing of this shrine and its temenos is offered by Shaw.[158]

The Tripartite Shrine from the Zakros rhyton differs from that of the 'Grandstand' fresco in a number of ways. No columns are present in the Zakros shrine. Also, this shrine appears to be located in a rural setting, probably on a mountaintop as indicated by the presence of Cretan wild goats and the rocky outcroppings surrounding it. For this

[157] Nilsson 1950: 174-176 and fig. 79.
[158] Shaw 1978: fig. 9.

reason, this shrine is usually interpreted as a peak sanctuary.[159] Comparisons have been made between the scene depicted on the Zakros rhyton and a similar building carved on a rhyton from Knossos.[160] Here, a male figure appears outside a tiered structure in a rocky landscape. The building is similar to a Tripartite Shrine in that the central section is taller than the flanks and a horns of consecration is depicted on the left side section. The man is bending down in front of a basket, either placing loaf-like objects in it or removing them from it.

An actual Tripartite Shrine may have been found in the archaeological remains from the site of Vathypetro dating to LM I.[161] Here, an open court is reached via a covered portico lined with three free-standing columns. Marinatos claims to have found a portion of horns of consecration within the courtyard in front of the columned portico.[162] Enclosure walls surround the courtyard and join with the walls of the supposed Tripartite Shrine at the eastern end of the court. Only the foundations of this building remain; they consist of two small, square structures flanking a central niche. The niche itself has two recesses of decreasing size; as a result, the back wall projects outward further to the east than the two sides. The space appears to have been open to the courtyard, since no evidence for a cross-wall or door jamb exists.[163] No traces of the superstructure have survived, but two reconstructions have been proposed based on the

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[159] Platon 1971: 167.
[160] In Warren 1969: 85, cat. no. P 474; Shaw 1978: 440-441 and fig. 10.
[161] Excavated and first identified as a Tripartite Shrine by S. Marinatos (1951: 259; 1952: 604-605 and fig. 19) ; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960: 66 and pl. 60. Published in detail by Shaw 1978: 442 and n. 26. Most scholars accept its interpretation as a Tripartite Shrine, including Hood (1971: 136) and Matz (1962: 111). Mylonas (1966: 146) and Rutkowski (1986: 53-54) are more skeptical.
[162] Marinatos 1952: 609.
[163] Shaw 1978: 444.

Zakros Peak Sanctuary Rhyton and gold plaques from the Shaft Grave and IV at Mycenae.[164]

Rutkowski has argued that this structure is not a Tripartite Shrine, but rather that the central niche functioned as the bottom portion of a stairway and the square sections may have been used as flower pots.[165] Shaw refutes the evidence for his interpretation and maintains the belief that it was indeed a religious structure.[166] The problem with identifying the scanty remains from Vathypetro as a Tripartite Shrine is the lack of moveable finds to support this claim. Shaw notes that no significant small finds were discovered in the court area, except for a fragmentary horns of consecration, which (if correctly identified) is at least commonly associated with Tripartite Shrines. Despite the lack of supporting artifactual evidence, it may be significant that the *only* small find is an well-established Minoan cult symbol. Apart from the horns of consecration, the interpretation of this building as a shrine is based solely on its architectural layout. For this reason, I think that its interpretation as a cult locale can only be considered **POSSIBLE**, rather than definite. This is unfortunate considering that the Vathypetro shrine would be the only other architectural evidence for a Tripartite Shrine other than the proposed shrine in the Central Sanctuary Complex at Knossos (see Chapter 4, Section III.A).[167]

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[164] For reconstructions, see Shaw 1978: figs. 14 and 15; for Mycenaean gold plaque, see Karo 1930-1933: 74 and pl. 18, probably dating to LH I.

[165] Rutkowski 1986: 53-54.

[166] Shaw 1978: 444-445.

[167] Some have noted the tripartite facade of the Spring Chamber at Caravanserai near Knossos and suggest that it too was a Tripartite Shrine (Shaw 1978: 446; Gesell 1985:100-101.) This chamber was in use during the Neopalatial period (LM I), and again in the Postpalatial period (LM IIIC-Subminoan). However, Gesell states that all of the evidence for its use as a cult locale belongs to the Postpalatial period beginning in LM IIIC. Since this dissertation does not address evidence for religion after LM IIIB2, the Spring Chamber is not pertinent as evidence for a Tripartite Shrine.

Other evidence for Tripartite Shrines occurs on seals and sealings from the Neopalatial period. These depictions are often schematic and abbreviated due to the limited space available on a seal or signet ring. An example on a sealing from the Little Palace at Knossos depicts only part of the central section of the shrine and one of its sides is preserved, but it is reasonable to posit a symmetrical arrangement.[168] The central portion has at least two columns and horns of consecration crown both the middle and side sections. The bent arm of a person appears to the left of the shrine. Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the piece does not allow for its definitive identification as a Tripartite Shrine. Shaw describes another example from Archanes.[169] On this ring, a central female figure wearing a flounced skirt is flanked by man hugging a baetyl to the right and another male shaking a tree on the left. The tree is located in a structure similar in form to a Tripartite Shrine. Exactly why a tree is growing out of the top of the shrine is uncertain, but a seal impression from Zakros does indicate a connection between tripartite structures and the act of tree-shaking. On this impression, a tripartite building, again topped with horns of consecration, is depicted on the left, while a man is bending over a tree to the right. Like the Archanes ring, the tree here may also be planted in some type of tripartite structure (though only two tiers remain) crowned with a horns of consecration.

Based on this overview of the evidence, the features of a Tripartite Shrine can vary considerably. This may be due in part to the different types of evidence available, ranging from frescoes to seals and seal impressions, as well as the possible architectural evidence. The only common feature is the division of the structure into three sections (with the central portion being taller and more prominent) and the presence of horns of

[168] Evans 1921-1935: II, fig. 326, though he refers to it as a pillar shrine. It is Neopalatial in date.
[169] Shaw 1978: 441-442 and fig. 18, dating to the Neopalatial period.

consecration. Columns are a common characteristic, as in the 'Grandstand' fresco and the Knossos sealing, but not required. Perhaps the most interesting variation is that Tripartite Shrines can occur in both urban and rural settings. Given the range of differences and the variety of evidence, it is not possible to apply the Indicators of Cult to Tripartite Shrines as a whole.

4. Bench Sanctuaries[170]

Of four types of Minoan cult locales, Bench Sanctuaries exhibit the greatest variety in architectural layout and in the cult equipment associated with them. Naturally, the one unifying factor is the presence of a bench, usually functioning as a place for the display of ritual offerings and equipment. However, sometimes a bench is a just a bench; therefore, it is particularly important that rooms containing a bench (or benches) provides ample additional evidence for cult use in order for the locale to be identified as religious. Given the wide variety of Bench Sanctuaries in the Proto- and Neopalatial periods on Crete, only a select few will be discussed in detail to provide a general idea of the types (and variety) of installations and finds associated with these cult rooms.

One of the earliest Bench Sanctuaries was part of the MM II Sanctuary located in a separate building to the west of the Neopalatial palace at Mallia.[171] The building itself consisted of three rooms: an anteroom, a storeroom and a Bench Sanctuary containing several items associated with cult use. A variety of offering vessels were found, as well as a triton shell which is common among Minoan religious assemblages (see above,

[170] For general discussions of Bench Sanctuaries, see Gesell 1985: 19-22; Rutkowski 1986: 141; Marinatos 1993: 103-106.
[171] van Effenterre 1980: 442-444.

Section II.B). An offering table with traces of burning was set into the middle of the floor, along with four other moveable offering tables.[172] In addition, a jar with its bottom intentionally sheared off was buried up to its handles and a tripod vessel with a relief double axe was turned upside-down on one of the offering tables. Gesell notes that many of the objects in this sanctuary find close parallels with material found in tombs, which further supports their identification as cult equipment.[173]

Another important Protopalatial Bench Sanctuary was identified within the palace at Phaistos in an area referred to as the Upper West Court Sanctuary Complex.[174] A total of seven rooms belonged to this complex: an anteroom, a Bench Sanctuary, two preparatory rooms, two storage rooms and an open air hearth. Many of these rooms contained evidence for cult use. Benches lined the walls of the main shrine and a fixed offering table was set in the middle of its floor. Stone vases and pottery were found *in situ* on the benches, perhaps serving as containers for ritual offerings. Other moveable offering tables with traces of burning, a libation table and a triton shell were among the finds associated with cult use. The open air hearth had a rectangular pit with a central cupule, similar to the offering table from the shrine itself. Gesell believes the hearth may suggest some type of ritual dining.[175] In addition, the walls, benches and floors had gypsum and plaster decoration and the hearth, offering tables and the libation table were decorated with red pigment.

In the Protopalatial period, Bench Sanctuaries were not limited to palatial sites. In the town of Gournia, a Protopalatial room (Room A4) may also be identified as a

[172] These offering tables were covered with red glaze and two show traces of burning.
[173] Gesell 1985: 9.
[174] Gesell 1985: 120-124.
[175] Gesell 1985: 11.

Bench Sanctuary.[176] In addition to a bench, this room was paved with flagstone and had a tank or impluvium in the floor, presumably for the containment of liquids. Many cupule stones and moveable offering tables support its religious interpretation.

Bench Sanctuaries continue in the Neopalatial, again with no real canonical form. For example, Room XXIII in the west wing at the palace at Zakros may be identified as a Bench Sanctuary.[177] It contained two benches on opposite sides of the room. A grindstone was found on one of the benches and a rhyta and cups with double axe decoration were near the other. Incense burners, a bronze basin and a stone table came from an associated storeroom. The South Bench Sanctuary Complex at Mallia[178] was also in use during the Neopalatial period and consisted of a number of annex rooms in addition to the bench sanctuary itself. Cult objects from this complex include an incurved altar, large tubular and tripod incense burners, terracotta feet and sea shells.

In the Neopalatial period, Balustrade Rooms, which are elaborate variants of the simpler Bench Sanctuary, become prominent at the site of Knossos.[179] These rooms are built on three levels, of which the uppermost level contains a cult bench, and are divided by balustrades with steps between them leading up to the bench level. Examples of Balustrade Rooms can be found in the Royal Villa[180] and the House of the Chancel Screen.[181] It may also be significant that both of these villas also contain Pillar Crypts, and the crypt in the Royal Villa seems to have had a close connection with the Balustrade Room. Of the Balustrade type of Bench Sanctuary, the House of the High Priest contains

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[176] Soles 1979: 152-154; Gesell 1985: 71.
[177] Platon 1971: 124-127; Gesell 1985: 137.
[178] van Effenterre 1980: 337-338.
[179] Gesell 1985: 20.
[180] Evans 1921-1935: II, 402-406 and fig. 232.
[181] Evans 1921-1935: II, 393- 395 and fig. 225

the strongest evidence for cult. Here, an incurved altar and double axe base[182] (a cult object normally found in association with Pillar Crypts) were unearthed, as well as two cists behind the first balustrade.

Based on this brief survey, certain features are commonly associated with Bench Sanctuaries. Besides the bench itself, Bench Sanctuaries often contain both permanent and moveable offering tables, and sometimes libation tables. They are often (though not always) part of a larger complex with anterooms and/or associated rooms, usually for the storage of equipment. The shape and size of Bench Sanctuaries, as well as the number of annexes, can differ considerably and these cult locales occur at both palace and town sites during the Proto- and Neopalatial periods. Other types of cult equipment, such as rhyta, triton shells, and incense burners vary from site to site and may indicate that different types of rituals were performed. In the Neopalatial period, a more sophisticated variation of the Bench Sanctuary, the Balustrade Room, is unique to the town site of Knossos. These specialized cult rooms may have had some connection with rituals associated with Pillar Crypts, considering their proximity to such cult locales (in the Royal Villa and House of Chancel Screen) and similarities in cult equipment (the double axe base from the House of the High Priest).

D. Summary of Minoan Religion

Based on this survey of Minoan religious cult locales, equipment and symbols, certain characteristics of Minoan religious rituals and beliefs can be reconstructed. The

[182] Gesell (1985:21) notes that the double axe base does not have the typical socket for holding the shaft of the axe, however, its pyramidal shape is very similar to those found in Pillar Crypts.

variety of shrine types suggests that different shrines may have been used for different religious purposes, though determining what may have occurred in these cult locales is more difficult to assess. It seems that Pillar Crypts, based on their placement in less visibly accessible basement rooms, may have been used to restrict access to the rites which likely included the pouring of ritual libations, indicated by the receptacles and basins around the pillars. Similarly, Lustral Basins may have used in ritual purification ceremonies and through the use of pier-and-door partitions frequently associated with them, could restrict both the number of participants and/or their view of rites being undertaken. Interestingly, the notion of hidden rites and restricting visible access to them seems to be a feature of Minoan religious cult practices that does not seem to be evident in Mycenaean religious rites.

Exactly what types of rites may have occurred in Tripartite Shrines is unclear, given the nature of the evidence for such cult locales. Iconographic evidence suggests that offerings could be made at these shrines (as seen on the Zakros rhyton) and perhaps the ritual act of tree shaking (as evidenced by a seal impression from Zakros). On the other hand, bench sanctuaries were clearly used for both the placement and display of various types offerings and cult symbols. It is this sanctuary type that finds its closest parallel in Mycenaean cult locales.

III. MYCENAEAN RELIGION

Mycenaean religion, for the purposes of this dissertation, refers to the religious beliefs and practices of Greek-speaking inhabitants of the mainland in the Late Helladic III period.[183] That is not to say that Mycenaean religion on the Greek mainland was *purely* Mycenaean. Rather, their religious beliefs and practices were influenced by contact with Minoans during the early phases of the Late Bronze Age. However, certain aspects of religious architecture, cult equipment and religious symbols on the mainland differ from those of Minoan religion in identifiable ways. Unlike Minoan sanctuaries, the variety of Mycenaean cult locales is minimal and consists primarily of small rooms often, but not always, furnished with a bench or benches. At the same time, the variation in cult equipment and cult symbols is greater from site to site. Despite this disparity, certain elements can be identified in the material record as typical indicators of Mycenaean religion. My intention here is to provide an overview of the more general characteristics of Mycenaean cult symbols, equipment and locales. For this reason, I focus my evidence only on sites from the Greek mainland. As a result, I do not consider the sites of Phylakopi on Melos or Ayia Irini on Kea, even though these sanctuary sites are often included in discussions of Mycenaean religion given their close proximity to the mainland and the apparent influence of Mycenaean culture at this time. However, these

[183] I chose to omit the evidence for religion dating to the Early Mycenaean period (LH I-II) for a number of reasons. The amount of evidence available is quite scanty, often difficult to interpret definitively as religious and frequently found in funerary contexts. Moreover, mainland Greeks seemed to have been heavily influenced by Minoan culture during the Early Mycenaean period, making it difficult to ferret out what is Minoan vs. Mycenaean in the religious assemblages from this period.

sites are located on islands and the evidence for cult contains certain local peculiarities which can skew our view of Mycenaean religious assemblages.[184]

A. Cult Symbols

Mycenaean cult symbols consist primarily of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic idols in both small-scale figurines and large-scale figures. The figurines, both animal and human, are fairly consistent in form throughout the Mycenaean world and occur at most, if not, all Late Helladic sites. Figures, on the other hand, are more variable and some types of figures are unique to specific sites.

1. Figurines

The most recognizable symbols of Mycenaean cult are the so-called phi, psi and tau figurines, so named based on their resemblance to the corresponding letters of the Greek alphabet.[185] These figurines all seem to be schematic representations of women with their arms in different poses: (1) phi figurines have their arms curved around their mid-section creating a circular body; (2) psi figurines have their arms upraised; (3) tau figurines have their arms neatly folded over their breasts. The figurines are small, handmade terracotta idols which typically are painted with wavy lines in a dark-on-light style. Often features of the face and breasts are rendered in paint. A thorough typology and chronology for these figurines has been conducted by French.[186] Though there is

[184] It is not my intention here to suggest the religion on the mainland is somehow *purer* "Mycenaean" than religion on the islands of Kea and Melos. Rather, religious beliefs and practices on these islands may also contain a certain amount of Cycladic influence which would be necessary to ferret out.
[185] Furumark 1941.
[186] French 1971.

considerable chronological overlap in the use of these figurines, the phi-figurines are the earliest attested type and are gradually replaced by the tau and psi figurines. Standard phi figurines are most common in LH IIIA2, but also survive into LH IIIB1[187] and are found at more than fifty Mycenaean sites.[188] Tau figurines first occur in LH IIIA2, but see their *floruit* in the middle of the LH IIIB period.[189] These figurines are less widespread, occurring primarily in the Argolid.[190] Psi figurines are the latest attested examples of Mycenaean figurines and are most common in the LH IIIB and IIIC period at sites throughout the Mycenaean world.[191]

Zoomorphic figurines are also widely attested in Mycenaean cult assemblages. The most common animal represented is the bovine, but in many cases, the species of the figurine cannot be determined unless specific features of the head are preserved. Like the female figurines, animal figurines are decorated in a dark-on-light style. French has divided animal figurines into four main types based on their decoration: (1) Wavy type, so named for its wavy line decoration along the body and legs;[192] (2) Linear type which has straighter lines extending from neck to tail; (3) Spine type, with vertical lines radiating downwards from the spine; (4) Ladder type, named for painted decoration resembling a ladder down the back of the animal. Like the female figurines, the dates of these figurine types overlap considerably, but the popularity of the types and their general *floruits* progress from the Wavy type (most common in the early phases of the Late

[187] French 1971: 117. It should be noted that French has identified two earlier figurines that appear to be precursors to the phi type. She terms these figurines Naturalistic and Proto-phi types and they occur primarily in early LM IIIA contexts (1971: 109-116).
[188] French 1971: 123. For an example in a ritual context, a proto-phi and phi figure were recovered from the Temple Complex at Mycenae (Moore and Taylour 1999: 50, pl. 22b-c).
[189] French 1971: 123-126.
[190] French 1971: 126.
[191] French identifies several subcategories for psi figurines, including a Late Psi type which continues into LH IIIC (1971: 126-140).
[192] First attested in LH IIIA1 with later examples continuing into mid-LH IIIB (French 1971: 152).

Helladic period (LH IIIA)) to the Ladder type (primarily in LH IIIB contexts). Other species of animals, including birds, pigs, and sheep, are also known, but are considerably rarer.[193] Other than bovine figurines, horses occur with some frequency, though often as part of chariot groups or with individual riders.[194] A particularly large number of chariot groups and horses with riders were found at the sanctuary site in Methana.[195] Other figurine groups can include driven oxen and oxen with riders.[196]

It should be noted that figurines are widely attested at Mycenaean sites in all types of settlement, funerary and ritual contexts.[197] It is difficult to ascribe a single function for Mycenaean figurines that could explain their appearance in such a wide variety of archaeological contexts. However, the fact that these objects do frequently occur in both funerary and ritual assemblages suggests that they conveyed some religious meaning. Nevertheless, as noted in Chapter 1 (Section II), Mycenaean figurines should be considered a secondary indicator of cult.

2. Figures

Mycenaean figures differ from figurines primarily in size and the technique of manufacture. Figures, of course, are larger and the lower bodies are either coil- or wheelmade with the upper body and head modeled.[198] Both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures occur in the archaeological record. French has divided Mycenaean

[193] French 1971: 159-164.
[194] French 1971: 164-165. In many horse and rider groups, the riders appear to be helmeted (Hood 1953).
[195] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 1999.
[196] French 1971: 165-166.
[197] For a recent contextual analysis of Mycenaean figurines, see Tzonou-Herbst 2002.
[198] French 1981: 173.

figures into groups, based on their methods of decoration.[199] Type A figures are typically smaller than Type B figures and have painted decoration, often quite elegantly rendered.[200] Type B figures, on the other hand, are monochrome, but can have details of the hair and the face plastically rendered and left in reserve. Type B figures are unique to the site of Mycenae,[201] but Type A figures are more widely attested at a number of sites.[202]

As noted above, Type A figures can occur in both human and animal form. The identifiable anthropomorphic forms are female figures and usually have their arms raised or holding their breasts.[203] Painted details can include elaborations of their facial features and dress, as well as other adornments. As with figurines, animal figures are typically bovine.[204] French notes that early bovine figures are bulls, while later examples are sexless.[205] Such figures occur frequently in ritual contexts and often the presence of Mycenaean figures is used as a strong, primary identifier of cult locales. As always, caution must be exercised to prevent circularity in our reasoning. That is, other features of the find context, such as attention-focusing devices in the architecture and an

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[199] French 1981.
[200] French 1981.
[201] A total of 27 registered pieces of Type B anthropomorphic figures were found in the Temple Complex at Mycenae (Moore and Taylour 1999: 47-50, pl. 13-22.
[202] Four Type A figures have been recovered from the excavations at Mycenae: three from the Temple Complex and one from the Room with the Fresco Complex (Moore and Taylour: 1999: 46). Another well-known example comes from Tiryns (Kilian 1981: 54-55, figs. 6-7).
[203] The only examples of male figures come from Phylakopi (Renfrew: 1985)
[204] For examples from a ritual context, see Lambrinudakis (1981: 59 and fig 8) from the site of Apollo Maleatas.
[205] French 1981: 174.

expenditure of wealth in the finds should also be present along with figures to more accurately identify an area as religious.

B. Cult Installations and Equipment

A variety of cult installations and equipment can occur in Mycenaean cult locales. Many of the same types of objects, both moveable and non-moveable, can be found at different sites throughout the mainland, suggesting some consistency in the Mycenaean ritual assemblage. Some of these objects and features are also attested in Minoan cult locales, making the goal of distinguishing Minoan between Mycenaean cult assemblages more difficult. However, a few items are either unique to or more prevalent at Mycenaean cult places.

An important cult installation in many Mycenaean shrines is the bench, a feature in common with Minoan bench sanctuaries (see above, Section II.C4). These benches consist of platforms that are usually fairly low to the ground and placed along the walls of the shrine. In many cases, it seems that these benches were used for the placement of offerings, which in some cases are still situated on the benches at the time of excavation.[206]

Offering tables frequently occur in Mycenaean shrines. As noted above in the discussion of Minoan cult equipment (Section II.B), the tables can be made of stone or terracotta, are circular in form and usually have a central depression to receive some type

[206] Moore and Taylour 1999.

of offering. In Mycenaean contexts, offering tables are most often small, moveable objects (as opposed to larger, fixed installations). A clay offering table coated with stucco was found in the megaron at Pylos[207] and four were recovered from Room 18 of the Temple Complex at Mycenae.[208]

Specific vessel types are frequently found in Mycenaean cult assemblages. The rhyton, also attested in Minoan shrines, is perhaps the most obvious ritual vessel given its unique, non-functional shape.[209] Like Minoan rhyta, Mycenaean examples could be made of precious materials, such as ostrich egg,[210] or simpler forms made of terracotta in a variety of shapes.[211] Rhyta can also occur in zoomorphic shapes.[212] Kylikes, the standard Mycenaean drinking cup, are also common in Mycenaean cult locales, though their function is not primarily religious. The kylix is perhaps the most widely attested Mycenaean vase shape and occurs in all types of archaeological contexts. Therefore, the presence of these vessels alone cannot identify an area as religious. Yet, when kylikes occur with other primary indicators of cult in identifiable Mycenaean shrines,[213] in these

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[207] Blegen and Rawson 1966: 91. This offering table was found near one of the columns around the hearth along with a number of miniature kylikes.

[208] Moore and Taylour 1999: 71 and pl. 26.

[209] See above, Section II.B

[210] A fragment of an ostrich egg rhyton was found in the so-called Megaron of the Cult Center at Mycenae, (Taylour 1981: 19, 33).

[211] Mountjoy1986. Two rhyton shapes are common in LH IIA: conical and pear (1986: 31-32), but in LH IIIA2-B1, only conical shape is widely attested (1986: 82-83, 108-109)

[212] The common animal-shaped rhyta are in the form of a bull. For an example from a ritual context, see Kilian 1979: 390-391 and Whittaker 1997: 182 from Room 117 at Tiryns.

[213] At Methana, eight kylikes were found associated with a stepped platform (Whittaker 1997: 165). In the Temple Complex at Mycenae, kylikes were found in Room 19 among numerous cult objects (Whittaker 1997: 170). At Pylos, miniature kylikes were found along with the offering table near one of the columns in the Megaron and both miniature and full-sized kylikes were found in Room 93 (Blegen and Rawson 1966: 71 and Whittaker 1997: 180).

contexts the cups may have served some religious purpose, such as in communal drinking rites.

C. Cult Locales

A number of cult locales on the Greek mainland have been securely identified in the archaeological record. Unlike Minoan shrines, the Mycenaean cult locales do not conform to standard shrine types with common architectural features, such as Pillar Crypts and Lustral Basins. Rather, Mycenaean shrines often have features specific to a given site. For this reason, it is best to discuss the various Mycenaean shrines individually, rather than as a cohesive group. As will be seen, despite the lack of architectural conformity, certain elements of Mycenaean shrines and the finds within them are consistent throughout the Greek mainland. The Mycenaean cult buildings that I discuss are those catalogued by Whittaker.[214]

1. The Cult Center at Mycenae

Perhaps the strongest archaeological evidence for Mycenaean religious architecture can be found at the site of Mycenae. Located within the citadel walls[215] to the south of Grave Circle A, the Cult Center consists of four different buildings that demonstrate substantial evidence for ritual activities: (1) the Megaron Complex; (2)

[214] Whittaker 1997.
[215] These buildings seem to have been constructed before the citadel wall in this area (French 2002: 85).

Tsountas' House Shrine; (2) the Temple Complex; and (4) the Room with the Fresco Complex (see fig. 2.1). The steep slope of the hill in this area necessitated the construction of several terraces, ramps and stairways leading down to the various buildings. Moreover, a long ramp, often referred to as the "Processional Way" connected the Cult Center to both the palace and Grave Circle A.[216]

This area was excavated in four stages by four different excavators: (1) Tsountas in 1886; (2) Wace in 1950; (3) Taylour from 1959 to 1969;[217] and (4) Mylonas from 1966 to 1975.[218] Only certain areas have been fully published,[219] which makes the interpretation of the unpublished buildings as religious more difficult. However, ample discussions of the buildings and their contents are available to allow for an informed reconstruction.[220] The Cult Center buildings seem to have been constructed during LH IIIB1.[221] In the middle of LH IIIB, a type of disruption, perhaps an earthquake, occurred and buildings in the Cult Center suffered some destruction. However, many of the buildings were repaired and/or altered and continued to be used until the LH IIIC period. The changes made to the various structures and their phases of use are discussed in more detail with respect to each building.

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[216] Though, the Processional Way was not the only means of access to the Cult Center. The area could also be reached by means of a roofed and plastered corridor along the east side of the South House Annex or from the west via an open court (French 2002: 85)

[217] Taylour in *Antiquity* 1969-1970.

[218] Mylonas 1972.

[219] An account of the excavations has been published by Taylour (1981), the Temple Complex by Moore and Taylour (1999) and the service areas by French and Taylour (2007). Publications of the Room with the Fresco by Moore and Taylour and the painting from the Room with the Fresco by Wardle, Marinatos *et al*. are forthcoming.

[220] In particular, French 1981 and 2002: 84-92; Marinatos 1988; Rehak 1992.

[221] French 1981: 43.

a. The Megaron Complex (fig. 2.1, no. 10)

The Megaron Complex is located to the west of the 'Processional Way' (see. fig. 2.1, no.9) and north of the Tsountas House shrine (see fig. 2.1, no. 11). It consists of a large room built on a heavy terrace with an anteroom and is entered via the 'Processional Way' at the southeastern end of the building. The anteroom, whose floor had collapsed at the time of excavation, had a series of basement storerooms[222] with a large quantity of finds. The small finds included glass beads, worked ivory, an elephant's tusk, boar's tusks, a hippopotamus tooth, a small, possibly Neolithic figurine, a fragment of a stone mortar, a fossil cup, and a fragment of an ostrich egg rhyton.[223] The main room (Room 2) rests on a large terrace and square hearth covered with thick black ash was found here.[224] At least two building stages have been identified,[225] but information about the specific dates of construction are not available as this building has not been fully published.[226]

The hearth could be interpreted as a specialized facility for ritual practice (a primary indicator), since it may have been used for sacrificial purposes. The ostrich egg rhyton falls under the category of special portable equipment used in cult practice (a primary indicator) and was likely used for ritual libations. The other small finds indicate some investment of wealth in the equipment and offerings, which would be secondary indicators of cult. Given this analysis of the finds, I would suggest that it is **POSSIBLE**

[222] Whittaker (1997: 168) states that there are three basement rooms (Rooms I, II, and III).
[223] These finds are comparable with other material found in the Cult Center (French 2002: 85).
[224] French 1981: 44.
[225] French 2002: 85.
[226] Though French (1981: 44) does state that "the levels below the floor [the Megaron] comprise a leveling of LH IIIB1 (identified by the placing of a large krater sherd as leveling material)," thus giving a *terminus post quem* for the first phase of the building.

that the Megaron Complex, was used for cult purposes. However, within the context of the Cult Center and the other neighboring buildings, which demonstrate stronger evidence for cult, perhaps the likelihood that the Megaron Complex was used for ritual purposes is stronger.

b. The Tsountas House Shrine (fig. 2.1, no. 11)

The Tsountas House Shrine, also referred to as Shrine Gamma,[227] is located to the west of the 'Processional Way' and south of the Megaron Complex discussed above. To the north of the Tsountas House Shrine is an open area that serves as the end of one leg of the 'Processional Way'. The shrine consists of two rooms, a larger room to the north that opens onto a smaller room to the south.[228] The northern room houses a horseshoe-shaped plaster altar which has a circular projection off to its side. This projection forms a groove that terminates by the mouth of a two-handled jar embedded in the floor, suggesting that this altar may have been used for libations.[229] In front of the platform, a large boulder was embedded in the earth, which Mylonas referred to as a 'slaughtering stone,'[230] but

[227] French 2002: 87; Shelton 2004.
[228] According to Mylonas 1972, the back room, which he called Gamma, was constructed first and the larger room in front, Gamma 1, was added to the north at a later date, making Gamma function as a type of adyton, while Gamma 1 was used for religious rites. French 1981 also notes that the Tsountas House Shrine was built in two phases, with the northern extension added at a later date, but she does not provide specific dates of construction. Since this shrine is awaiting publication, the dates of these phases cannot be confirmed.
[229] French 2002: 87
[230] Mylonas 1972.

French admits that the purpose of this stone slab is unclear.[231] In the open area outside of the building, another altar is located to the east, but is poorly preserved.[232]

The finds from these rooms are quite extensive. From the smaller, southern room, numerous objects made of precious materials[233] were recovered, including items imported from Egypt and Mesopotamia.[234] In addition, three female figurines made of glass paste were found. Perhaps the most controversial piece from this room is a small stucco plaque painted in miniature style that possibly depicts a human figure standing behind a figure-of-eight shield (see fig. 4.19). Two female figures are depicted, one on each side of the shield, and an altar with incurving sides is preserved on the lower left side. Tsountas was the first to suggest that the central shield may have had a figure (either a human or an idol) behind it, despite the difficulties in discerning the limbs and head of the figure.[235] The rendering of the 'arms' on this plaque is particularly clumsy. One arm projects out of the upper half the shield and is bent upward and to the right, while the other juts out of the top left of the shield. It is difficult to posit why she is depicted in such an awkward position. Mylonas, who examined the tablet and the early drawings of it, admitted that he could not find evidence for the existence of such body

[231] French 2002: 87.
[232] French 2002: 87.
[233] Including an ivory wing and ornaments of bone, gold, gold foil, and glass paste.
[234] Including a scarab, a dark blue glass pendant of Mesopotamian origin, and a fragment of a nude female plaque of Mesopotamian origin.
[235] Tsountas 1886: 78. Based on Tsountas' claim that a figure was rendered behind the shield, Rodenwaldt (1912: 129ff) asserted that the figure was a woman and represented a goddess and provided evidence for a Mycenaean warrior goddess. For a further discussion of this plaque, see Chapter 4, Section III.C4.

parts.[236] Yet, he still accepts the interpretation of this figure as a Bronze Age Warrior Goddess believing that the traces of the arms, neck and head may have existed at the time of discovery and have since worn away. Considering the questionable evidence for the head and neck of this individual, and the fact that the arms do not necessarily look like arms as much as they appear to be imperfections caused by the poor preservation of the piece, it is best to disregard the idea that this plaque depicts some type of warrior goddess. However, the presence of the incurved altar at the very least suggests some religious significance. The finds from the larger room to the north are less impressive: a small amount of pottery, including three miniature vases and a shallow dish found near the platform.

The horseshoe shaped altar and the large boulder could be considered special facilities for ritual practice (a primary indicator). The altar with its channel leading to a jar embedded in the earth was likely used for the pouring of libations and the boulder may have been used for animal sacrifice, though admittedly this interpretation is more tentative. The investment of wealth in the finds, including both imports and objects made of precious materials, is a secondary indicator of cult. The female figurines made of glass paste are repeated symbols that could suggest some iconographic relationship to the deity worshipped (secondary indicators). Though it is unlikely that the plaque depicts some type of Mycenaean warrior goddess, the depiction of an incurved altar at least

[236] Mylonas 1966: 156-157, though suggests they may have existed at the time of discovery and have since been worn away.

places the iconography of the image in the sphere of religion. The identification of the Tsountas House Shrine as cult locale should be considered **LIKELY**.

c. The Temple Complex (fig. 2.1, no. 14)

Located to the west of Tsountas House Shrine and at a lower elevation, the Temple Complex is accessed via a staircase just to south of the Megaron.[237] This staircase leads to an open area in front of the Temple Complex to the north and the Tsountas House to the south. This area, called the Central Court (see fig. 2.1, no 13), contains a forecourt where a round altar made of clay and stones was found. On the southwest side of the court is a small, stoa-like construction.[238] To the west, a pit with remains of offerings was uncovered.[239] The Temple is situated to the north of this central court and is a free standing building with three interior rooms: an anteroom (Room XI), a main room (Room 18) and small room accessed via a stairway (Room 19).[240] In addition, a small, triangular-shaped alcove is located in the northwestern corner in Room 18. In the first phase of the building,[241] all three rooms were in use, but after the minor disturbance in mid-LH IIIB, Room 19 and the Room 18 Alcove were blocked off.

The Temple Complex opens up via two doorways to an anteroom (Room XI) which contains a hearth, a low bench along the wall, and a basin made of white clay

[237] This building and its contents have been fully published by Moore and Taylour 1999.
[238] The remains of this structure is problematic and is awaiting full publication (French 2002: 87).
[239] Unfortunately, French (2002: 87) does not mention of what types of these offerings were found here.
[240] For plans and images of the temple, see Moore and Taylour 1999: figs. 2 and 6 and pl. 2b.
[241] The first phase of the building lasts from the beginning of LH IIIB1 until the end of LH IIIB1/beginning of LH IIIB2 (i.e. mid-LH IIIB) (Moore and Taylour 1999: 3).

mixed with earth. Room 18 has a series of platforms of different sizes and varying heights along the entire north wall and in the northwestern corner. On the east end of the low platform a Type B anthropomorphic figure[242] was found *in situ* next to a small, moveable altar.[243] A low dais is situated roughly in the center of the room and a staircase to the right, flanked by three columns, leads up to Room 19. The small alcove is accessed from Room 18 via a window and the floor of the alcove, made of beaten earth, is about a meter higher than that of Room 18. The alcove contains an outcrop of bedrock, sloping sharply down from the level of the floor of Room 19.

Room 19, also referred to as the Room with the Idols, is a very small room, accessed by a stairway from Room 18. As noted above, this room was closed off before the final destruction of the site and the door was sealed. The most impressive cult paraphernalia was recovered from this room. Numerous anthropomorphic figures (both Type A and Type B forms) were found along with several terracotta coiled snakes.[244] Many of the figure fragments from Room 19 join to fragments found in the Room 18 Alcove, which was also sealed prior to the final phase of use. It is likely that these figures were deposited in these areas at roughly the same time. Other finds include: pottery,[245] an axe-hammer model, three tripod tables, a clay vat, two sealings, numerous

[242] See above, Section III.A2.
[243] French 2002: 87 and fig. 36.
[244] Two Type A female figures, 17 (complete or fragmentary) Type B figures and 7-8 coiled snakes, see Moore and Taylour 1999: pls 11-22 (anthropomorphic figures) and pls; 23-25 (snakes).
[245] Especially open shapes (kylikes, cups, bowls), but also dippers, a hydria, a coarse amphora, a miniature closed shape and two braziers.

beads made of various materials,[246] over thirty glass plaques, a faience scarab, an ivory comb, ivory figurine and box, and a few metal objects.[247]

The hearth and the bench in the anteroom and the platforms and dais in Room 18 can be interpreted as specialized facilities for ritual practice (primary indicators). The figure found *in situ* on the platform in Room 18 can be viewed as both an attention focusing device and possibly the use of a cult image (primary indicators). The numerous figures (both anthropomorphic and coiled snakes) are examples of repeated symbols (secondary indicator) and the poses and gestures of the anthropomorphic figures could represent special movements of prayers and adoration reflected in the images (primary indicators). The small altar next to the figure on the bench is an example of special portable equipment (a primary indicator). Lastly, the small finds from Room 19 indicate an investment of wealth in the equipment and offerings (secondary indicators). Given this evaluation of the evidence, I would consider the evidence for cult use in the Temple Complex to be **STRONG**.

d. The Room with the Fresco Complex (fig. 2.1, no. 15)

To the west of the Temple Complex and at a slightly lower elevation, the Room with the Fresco Complex exhibits certain features of cult activity. This building is accessed by a narrow passageway to the west of the Temple and leading north from the Central Court area. The entrance to this building is along the north and leads into an

[246] Including steatite, amber, carnelian, rock crystal, lapis lazuli, glass, and ivory.
[247] Including a finger ring and a pin head.

anteroom (Room 38)[248] which provides access to three additional rooms (Rooms 31-33).[249]

The central room (Room 31) is the main room of the shrine. Beside the entrance is a clay larnax which may have served for ritual cleansing.[250] An elaborate hearth flanked by two columns lies in the middle of the room. Along the eastern wall to the south of the doorway leading into Room 32 is a platform and the entire wall behind the platform is decorated with a fresco.[251] The wall painting is organized into two registers. The lower register to the left of the platform depicts a female figure wearing an elaborate headdress and holding sheaves of wheat in both hands. On the right side of the woman are traces of the paws of an animal and a tail on the left.[252] The upper register of the fresco is at the level of the top of the platform and depicts two female figures facing each other. The woman on the left is slightly larger and is holding a long sword in front of her with its point touching the ground. The other female figure seems to be holding a staff and between the two women are two small, sketchy male figures hover around them. The whole scene is framed by columns, perhaps suggesting that the action is taking place indoors. The finds from Room 31 include pottery, both coarse and fine wares, several

[248] The anteroom, along with Room 32 (see below), seems to have been construction at a slight later date than the main room (Room 31) (French 2002: 90).
[249] Whittaker 1997: 170.
[250] French 2002: 91.
[251] Rehak 1992; Marinatos 1988.
[252] It is uncertain if this animal was a griffin (because the feet are elevated above the ground level) or a lion (because of the tawny color).

lead vessels, an Egyptian faience plaque with a cartouche of Amenophis III,[253] a stone bird's nest bowl, ivory male head, ivory lion, and a stone mace-head.[254]

Room 32 is a small room accessed via a doorway in the east wall of Room 31. A platform is located in the southwestern part of the room. Room 32 seems to have been constructed slightly later than the rest of the building.[255] Before the construction of Room 32, an eastern entrance led directly into Room 31, during which time Room 31 had easier access to both Temple Complex and the Central Court area. Significant finds include a Type A anthropomorphic figure, a lead vessel, a large amount of ivory (worked, unworked and partially worked) and a number of small stone conuli, the function of which is still debated.[256] Room 33 is a large room that communicates only with Room 31. The finds from this room were an ivory figurine and the neck of an amphora found in the floor.

The clay larnax, the hearth, and the platform in Room 31 can be considered specialized facilities for ritual practice (primary indicators). The larnax could have been used for ritual cleansing, the hearth for sacrificial offerings and the bench for the placement of votives. The images on the fresco could represent an iconographic relationship to the deity worshipped (a secondary indicator), especially the animal, whether a griffin or a lion. The Type A anthropomorphic figure may have served as a cult image (a primary indicator) and the investment of wealth in the equipment and finds

[253] This plaque was around 100 years old at the time of the destruction of the building (French 2002: 91).
[254] Whittaker 1997:172.
[255] French 2002: 90, but unfortunately specific dates are not available.
[256] French 2002: 92 and fig. 42. Other finds include a large amount of pottery and beads.

are secondary indicators. Given the analysis of the rooms, I would consider the evidence for cult use in the Room with the Fresco Complex to be **STRONG**.

2. Methana

The cult buildings at the site of Methana provide some of our earliest evidence for Mycenaean cult locales.[257] It may have been constructed as early as LH IIIA1 and was destroyed at the end of LH IIIB. At least three different areas have been identified as religious by the excavators: (1) Room A, and possibly the adjacent Rooms B and C; (2) Room G and Area F in front of it; (3) Room H and possibly the adjacent Room E (see fig. 2.2).[258] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou also suggests that Building Z may have been used for cult, but the building's primary purpose was not necessarily religious.

a. Room A and Adjacent Rooms B and C

Room A shows the clearest evidence for cult. A stepped bench was found along the northwest corner, opposite the entrance to the room.[259] Approximately 150 figurines, mostly bovids and group figurines, were deposited on or around this bench.[260] In addition, a bovine figure with a rider attached to its head was found on the uppermost step of the bench and a hollow Psi figurine was found on the step below.[261] Other finds

[257] Konsolaki 1995; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 1999; 1999a; 2001; Whittaker 1997: 164-165.
[258] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 62.
[259] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou believes that this bench constituted the focus of the cult (1999a: 62).
[260] The assemblage of figurines is remarkable and includes 10 chariot groups, 5 horses with helmeted riders, 17 driven oxen and 3 ridden oxen.
[261] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou believes that this figure may have served as a cult image. (1999a: 63).

associated with this feature include miniature model furniture,[262] a few miniature vessels,[263] several kylikes, a rounded alabastron, a Group B deep bowl and a triton shell, whose apex had been deliberately cut off.[264]

Another stone platform runs along the south wall of Room A which Konsolaki believes may have been used for the placement of food offerings, given the quantity of shells, animal bones and fish bones recovered from the floor deposit.[265] In the center of the room, a limestone pavement forms a low dais, the purpose of which is unclear. A small hearth was found in the southeast corner of the room with a spit-rest still *in situ*.[266] The fill of the hearth contained burnt animal bones, perhaps suggesting sacrificial rites, with a particular preponderance of pig bones.[267] In the southwest corner, a jar neck on the floor, along with a pig-headed rhyton, a two-handled cup, a dipper and a straight-sided alabastron, may have been used for ritual libations.[268]

Rooms B and C lie to the north of Room A, and may have served as service rooms for the shrine. Room B contained a hearth in the northwest corner, along with a tripod cauldron and broken kylikes, perhaps suggesting that the room was used as a kitchen for the preparation of ritual meals.[269] Room C contained a small cist grave with

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[262] Two Type B three-legged thrones, three tripod tables and part of a bed or stool (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 63).
[263] A rhyton, a dipper and flask.
[264] The triton in this form may have been used as a rhyton (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 67). Given that the stepped bench could not accommodate all of these finds at a single time, she posits that they may have been stored on wooden shelves above (Konsolaki 1999a: 65).
[265] Konsolaki 1999a: 65.
[266] Konsolaki 1999a: 66 and fig. 5.
[267] Konsolaki 1999a: 66; Hamilakis 2003.
[268] A small miniature rhyton was also found nearby.
[269] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 68.

an infant skeleton and some remains of earlier burials. Included in the burial was a phi and psi figurine, two bronze rings and some beads made of various materials. Interestingly, the use of the grave is contemporary with that of the shrine.[270] The connection, if any, between Room A and Room C with its burial is uncertain as the excavators are awaiting a full analysis of the skeletons and associated grave goods.

The stepped bench in the northeast corner and the stone platform along the south wall in Room A, as well the hearths in Rooms A and B, are specialized facilities for ritual practice (primary indicators). Also, the placement of the stepped bench opposite the entrance to the room could serve as an attention focusing device (a primary indicator), especially given the overwhelming number of figurines found on and around it. The bovine figure with a rider and perhaps the hollow Psi figurine, both of which were found on the stepped platform, could suggest the use of a cult image (primary indicators). The quantity of shells and bones, particularly pig and fish bones, found in association with the hearths, along with a spit-rest (in the Room A hearth) and the tripod cauldron (in the Room B hearth), could be indications of sacrifice and/or the preparation of the ritual meals (secondary indicators). The number and variety of figurines are examples of repeated symbols (secondary indicators). The pig-headed rhyton found near the jar neck on the floor of Room A could have been used for ritual libations, which would categorize them as special portable equipment for cult use (a primary indicator). The triton shell, with its apex removed, may have been used as a horn and if so could have been a device to induce a religious experience, such as music or dancing (a secondary indicator). Given

[270] The cist grave was in use between LH IIIA2-IIIB1 (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 69).

the wealth of finds and installations in these rooms, I would consider the evidence for cult in these rooms to be **STRONG**.

b. Room G and Area F

Area F is a small enclosed courtyard to the north of Room C. A low bench is situated on the south side. In the corner of the courtyard, to the west of the bench is a boulder with a deep conical hollow cut into it and it was pierced vertically. A rhyton fragment and three figurines (two psi and the head of a psi) were also found in Area F, suggesting that this boulder may have been use for ritual libations.[271]

Room G is a small megaron-type room with two columns on either side of what may have originally been a central hearth.[272] Another hearth made out of rough stone was found in the northwest corner of the room and contained a thick fill of ash and animal bones.[273] In the northeast corner of the room is a bench-like feature where a phi figurine and some fragments of animal figurines were found. A receptacle for libations may also have been found in this area of the room in the form a natural rock with a deep conical depression cut into it.[274] A low podium was partially recovered along the southern wall and may have been the base for some type of seat, as is common in

[271] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 69.
[272] In the center of the room was a pit, the upper fill of which contained pieces of charcoal and blackish earth. This feature seemed to have been destroyed during a refurbishing of one of the columns. A proto-phi figurine, painted kylikes and a serpentine lentoid with representation of a bull were also recovered from the same pit. (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 70).
[273] This hearth may have replaced the original central hearth (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 70).
[274] (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 70).

Mycenaean megara.[275] The excavators admit that, though it seems likely that some type of ritual activities may have occurred in Room G, the primary function of this room may not have been religious.[276]

The bench in Area F and the hearth and bench-like installation in Room G could be interpreted as facilities for ritual practice (primary indicators). Also, the boulder in Area F and the natural rock in Room G, both of which contain cuttings possibly for libations, may also have been used for ritual purposes (primary indicators). The rhyton fragment is suggestive of special portable equipment (a primary indicator) and the figurines provide evidence for repeated symbols (secondary indicator). Based on this evidence, I would propose that Room G and Area F were **LIKELY** used for cult purposes.

c. Room H and Adjacent Room E

Room H is located to the west and along the back of Rooms A and B. No obvious installations which might indicate a religious function were found in this room, but the remains from the floor deposit suggested to the excavators that the room may have had a cultic function.[277] The room fill contained much food residue, including animal bones, sea shells and seeds. The find most indicative of religion is a limestone plaque with traces of paint on the face and sides. In the center of the plaque is a figure-of-eight shield in solid paint and perhaps a female figure standing to the right. The similarities to the

[275] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 71.
[276] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 70.
[277] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 72.

plaque from Cult Center at Mycenae are noted by the excavator.[278] This plaque was located in the southeast corner of the room near what may have been the remnants of a bench, presumably used for ritual purposes.[279] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou admits that, although these finds suggest a religious function for this room, clear indications of cult practice are lacking.[280]

Room E is located to the north of Room H and provided access this room. Again, no clear religious installations were identified in this room. However, a circular stone base was found in the center of the room and numerous fragments of a clay bath larnax were recovered from the fill. The similarity to the clay larnax from Room 31 of the Room with the Fresco Complex at Mycenae suggested to the excavators that this bath may have been used for ritual cleansing.[281]

The fragments of the clay larnax and the remnants of a bench in Room H, which may have been facilities for ritual practice, would be the only primary indicators of cult from these rooms. The animal bones, seeds and sea shells from the floor deposit could be the result of sacrifices (secondary indicators). Lastly, the limestone plaque with a shield and female figure could represent an iconographic representation to divinity (a primary indicator), though this interpretation is based primarily on parallels with the plaque from the Cult Center at Mycenae. I would suggest that it is **POSSIBLE** that Rooms H and E were used for cult purposes.

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[278] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 72. Unfortunately, the painted decoration on this plaque is very poorly preserved.
[279] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 73.
[280] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 73.
[281] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 73.

3. Room 93 at Pylos

Room 93 is located in the Northeastern Building at the Palace of Nestor at Pylos. This building is a complex of rooms that is not physically connected to the palace proper. Room 93 is a three sided room that opens onto a small court and does not communicate directly with the other rooms of the Northeastern Building. Antae blocks frame the entrance and steps from the court lead up to Room 93. Unfortunately, very few finds were recovered from this room, since the floor and its contents were destroyed. The finds include kylikes and miniature kylikes, bronze wire, chips and flakes of obsidian, flint and quartz.[282] However, an altar almost directly on axis with this room was situated in the courtyard. The altar was covered in plaster and painted with scallops and curving bands.[283]

The antae that frame the entrance to Room 93 suggest some investment of wealth reflected in the architecture (a secondary indicator). The altar placed on axis with the room is a perhaps the strongest indicator of cult as a specialized facility for ritual practice (a primary indicator). Among the small finds, the miniature kylikes suggest ritual use as votive offerings (a secondary indicator), given their non-functionality. Based on this analysis of the finds, I would suggest that it is **POSSIBLE** that Room 93 at Pylos was used for cult purposes.

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[282] Blegen and Rawson 1966: 301-305; Whittaker 1997: 180.
[283] Blegen and Rawson 1966: 302; Whittaker 1997: 180.

4. Room XXXII in House G at Asine

House G is a complex of several rooms located in the lower city below the Asine acropolis and dates to LH IIIC.[284] Room XXXII is a small room in this complex with a stone platform against the northern wall. Between the platform and the adjacent wall, a jar with its bottom carefully cut away was found standing upside down. Platforms are also present on the east and west walls and two columns were found in the center of the room. Significant finds include a head from a large clay figure (the so-called "Lord of Asine"), five figurines, a triple vase, a stone axe and pottery.[285] All of these finds were found in a pit near the stone platform in a fill of charcoal and ashes.

The platforms on the three walls of Room XXXII can be interpreted as special facilities for ritual purposes (primary indicators). The jar with its bottom sheared off, which could have been used for ritual libations, and the triple vase can be viewed as special portable equipment for cult practice (primary indicators). The "Lord of Asine" figure head may have been used as a cult image (primary indicator) and the five figurines are examples of repeated symbols (secondary indicators). Based on this evidence, I would propose that Room XXXII at Asine was **LIKELY** used for cult purposes.

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[284] Asine excavations are published by Frödin and Persson 1938: 74-76. A more recent and thorough analysis and description of the cult locale are offered by Hägg 1981: 90-94. For LH IIIC date see, D'Agata 1996: 42, n. 16.

[285] Hägg 1981: 93 and fig. 2.

5. Shrines from the Unterburg at Tiryns

Three small rooms in the Lower Town at Tiryns have been identified as cult locales (see fig. 2.3). The rooms are situated in the western section of the Unterburg along the fortification wall and face onto a courtyard. The rooms were in successive use, each built on top of the previous room, and all date to phases within the LH IIIC period. However, deposits dating to LH IIIB and containing ritual objects were also found in this area (referred to as Casemate 7, see fig. 2.3A), suggesting that this area may have been used for cult purposes in LH IIIB and that these deposits resulted from cleaning operations prior to the construction of the LH IIIC cult locales.[286]

The earliest of the cult buildings at Tiryns is Room 119 and may have been a provisional structure based on its hasty construction methods and its short period of use.[287] It consists of a single room sunken into the ground.[288] Two floors have been identified, the earlier of which contains a hearth, a stirrup jar, fragments of two female figurines and an animal figurine. The later floor revealed a fragment of a female clay figure, six female figurines and five animal figurines. Additional figurines were found just outside the room.[289] The hearth can be interpreted as a special facility for ritual

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[286] Kilian 1981: 53; Whittaker 1997: 180-181. The finds from the Casement 7 deposits are particularly impressive and include 9 female figurines, 5 animal figurines, 2 chariot groups, 7 female figures, 7 animal figures, a miniature vase and fragment of a rhyton. The figures may have been used as cult images (primary indicators) and the figures can be viewed as repeated symbols (secondary indicators). The rhyton fragment can be categorized as special portable equipment for cult use (a primary indicator) and the miniature vase may have been a votive offering (a secondary indicator). The lack of fixed installations or an actual cult building limits the interpretation of this area, but given the numerous finds indicative of cult, I believe it is **POSSIBLE** that Casement 7 was an area used for religious purposes.

[287] Kilian, Podzuweit, and Weisshaar 1981: 162-165; Whittaker 1997: 180-181.

[288] Kilian 1992; Whittaker 1997: 181.

[289] 6 female figurines and 4 animal figurines.

practice (a primary indicator). The figures suggest the use of a cult image (primary indicators) and the figurines are examples of repeated symbols (secondary indicators). Based on these finds, I would propose that it is **POSSIBLE** that Room 119 was used for cult.

Room 117 (see fig. 2.3B) is the second cult locale to be built and replaced Room 119. It is a small rectangular room built against the fortification wall.[290] Just to the north is a horseshoe-shaped altar where a female figure and a rhyton in the form of a bull were found in close proximity. Within the room is a bench running along the length of the back wall.[291] In front of the bench and along the northern and southern walls are low square steps. A column may have stood in the center of the room[292] and three stone bases were found along the front facade of the room. The finds from Room 117 consist of a female clay figure, three psi figurines, miniature vessels and other small finds made of semi-precious materials.[293] In the courtyard, numerous figurines and miniature vessels were found.

The bench and the altar from Room 117 can be understood as specialized facilities for cult (primary indicators). Also, the placement of the bench along the back wall opposite the entrance could also represent an attention focusing device (a primary indicator). The female figure found near the altar can perhaps represent a cult image (a primary indicator) and the numerous figurines found both in and immediately outside of

[290] Kilian 1992: fig. 4 for isometric plan.
[291] Originally, the bench contained a central niche which was filled in with small stones and mudbrick (Whittaker 1997: 182).
[292] Based on an impression of squared wood (Whittaker 1997: 182).
[293] Including a glass bead, a glass pendant, lead rings and bone needle.

Room 117 are examples of repeated symbols (secondary indicators). The miniature vessels and perhaps the objects of semi-precious materials could have been votive offerings (secondary indicators). Given this analysis of the evidence, I would propose that Room 117 was **LIKELY** used for cult purposes.

After Room 117 was destroyed, it was leveled and replaced by Room 110 (fig. 2.3C), a longer and narrower structure than the previous room. Like Room 117, Room 110 was also furnished with a bench along the western wall.[294] Two female figures and fragments of five additional female figures were found along this bench and presumably had fallen from it.[295] Other finds include part of an animal figurine, a stone bead, bone needle, and fine decorated pottery.

Room 110 was destroyed, probably by an earthquake, and Room 110a was constructed on top of it (see fig. 2.3D).[296] The layout of Room 110a is similar to the previous shrine, except projecting antae were added to the interior walls creating an anteroom and the walls were extended slightly to the east.[297] In front of the platform along the back wall, a female figure was found. In the court outside and just to the south was an altar where an amphoriskos and two cups were found in close proximity. In addition, three animal figurines were recovered from the area between the altar and Room 110a. Given the similarities in layout and finds to Room 117, I would also propose that both Room 110 and Room 110a were also **LIKELY** used as cult locales.

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[294] Kilian 1981: 53 and fig. 5 for isometric plan.
[295] Kilian 1981: figs. 6-7.
[296] Whittaker 1997: 181.
[297] Kilian 1981: fig. 9 for isometric plan.

D. Summary of Mycenaean Religion

Based on the evidence for cult locales on the Greek mainland, equipment and symbols, significant differences can be noted between Minoan and Mycenaean religious rites. The bench sanctuary is the predominant shrine type used by Mycenaeans. Bench sanctuaries are also common in Minoan religious architecture and it is possible that Mycenaeans who were in contact with Crete during the early phases of the Late Bronze Age adapted this shrine type for own religious purposes. However, the bench sanctuary is the only Minoan shrine type that occurs outside of Crete suggesting a certain mainland affinity for such shrines. The use of bench sanctuaries suggests that Mycenaean rituals focused on the placement and display of ritual offerings. Such offerings may have been brought to these shrines as part of various ritual processions. Moreover, cult objects, especially anthropomorphic and animal figures, were often displayed on these benches, perhaps acting as representations of divinities and therefore the recipients of the offerings. Of course, Minoans also employed the use of the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures and figurines. However, it is interesting that, in Mycenaean religion, the *primary* cult symbols are figures and figurines in the form of humans and animals, whereas in Minoan religion, symbolic objects whose meanings are more obscure (such as horns of consecration and double axes) predominate.

The archaeological evidence demonstrates that some ritual actions were common to both Minoans and Mycenaeans. For instance, evidence for the pouring of liquid offerings is prevalent in the form of rhyta and various types of libation installations in

both Minoan and Mycenaean religious contexts. Ritual cleansing seems to have been an important part of religious rites in both Minoan and Mycenaean cult practices, though the evidence for each culture differs; Minoan ritual cleansing likely occurred in Lustral Basins, whereas Mycenaeans may have used clay larnakes for such purposes. Interestingly, a greater amount of evidence for animal sacrifice and perhaps ritual dining is apparent at Mycenaean shrines than Minoan ones.

With this general overview of Minoan and Mycenaean religions, we can better assess the evidence for cult at the site of Knossos and determine what features of the religious shrines, cult equipment and symbols are indicative of Minoan or Mycenaean tastes.

Chapter 3: The Date of the Knossos Tablets

I. INTRODUCTION

Assessing Mycenaean religion at Knossos in the Late Minoan period, in many ways, is more difficult than evaluating Late Helladic religion on the mainland. Debates concerning the nature and extent of the Mycenaean presence at Knossos, the date (or dates) of the Knossos tablets, and the coherence of the tablet deposits as a whole are still prevalent in scholarly literature.[298] These debates and other controversies must be addressed in some detail as they affect the interpretation of the material.

To what extent Mycenaeans maintained control over the island of Crete in the Late Bronze Age is uncertain. In fact, the very use of the term "Mycenaean" to refer to the Late Minoan III period is considered problematical because it is unclear how much of the Cretan population was made up of Greek-speaking people originating from the Greek mainland and to what extent the non-Greek speaking Cretan population maintained a role in the governance of the island.[299] Furthermore, it is uncertain to what degree the introduction of mainland components in the material culture reflects movements of "Mycenaeans" to the island of Crete and how much it represents the borrowing and/or adaptation of such features by the local Cretan population for social or political

[298] E.g., Driessen and Farnoux 1997 and Firth 2000-2001:260-281.
[299] Preston 2008: 312-316; Bennet 2010.

reasons.[300] Linear B tablet deposits at Knossos and Khania attest to Mycenaean management over the economic and political spheres of influence at these sites, perhaps beginning as early as LM II and continuing until LM IIIA2 or IIIB1. As mentioned in Chapter 1, I am interested in *Mycenaean* religion at Knossos (rather than Late Minoan religion on Crete) (Chapter 1, Section III.A). That is not to say that Mycenaean religion at Knossos did not involve some blending of Minoan and Mycenaean elements. In fact, this dissertation demonstrates that religion at Knossos during the "Mycenaean" phases constitutes a mixture of both mainland and Cretan religions. To be certain that I am addressing elements of "Mycenaean" religion, I limit my evaluation of the evidence to a point in time and space in which we can be confident that Greek-speaking mainlanders were involved in the social make-up of the island and actively involved in the governance of the people. For this reason, I am focusing on the site of Knossos where we know a certain degree of Mycenaean involvement in religion existed.[301]

The Linear B inscriptions, written in an early form of Greek, are by far the strongest evidence for Mycenaean presence at Knossos. Even though Knossian Linear B tablets indicate some form of Mycenaean economic control over central Crete as far south as Phaistos and as far west as Khania,[302] the evidence suggests that Mycenaean

[300] Preston 2008.
[301] As noted in Chapter 1 (see Section III.A), Linear B tablets from the site of Khania attest to Mycenaean control over parts of western Crete. However, only one Linear B tablet contains pertinent information about Mycenaean religion and does not provide enough of a corpus to compare to the contemporary archaeological evidence. For this reason, I have omitted the evidence from Khania from my examination.
[302] Bennet 1983: 189-190.

religious interests were localized around Knossos.[303] For this reason, the evidence from Phaistos and other central Cretan sites is not considered in this dissertation. Rather, I focus my examination on the evidence from Knossos.[304] For the purposes of this dissertation, I use the term "Mycenaean" very loosely, referring primarily to cultural remains of Greek-speaking administrators on Crete, as attested by the Linear B tablets and the introduction of artifacts characteristic of the Greek mainland.

II. THE DEBATE CONCERNING THE DATE OF THE KNOSSOS TABLETS

The date of the Linear B tablets is perhaps the most heated debate about Mycenaean Knossos.[305] The early and imprecise excavation of the site, as well as the complicated stratigraphy, has made the date of many of the tablet deposits unrecoverable. Contradictions between the original notebooks and the published excavation reports further complicate matters. Scholars participating in the debate tend to favor whichever source supports their desired date for the Linear B texts. To begin at the beginning: Sir Arthur Evans originally dated the final destruction of the palace at Knossos to LM II.[306] Following this devastation, Evans believed that the palace was partially rebuilt and inhabited by what he termed "squatters" until LM IIIB. After LM IIIB, the site was

[303] Killen 1987: 163-178.
[304] Once the nature of Mycenaean religion at Knossos is established, it will be possible to examine other regions in Crete under the control of these palatial centers. However, such an examination is beyond the scope of this dissertation, though I hope to address such issues in future research.
[305] For the most recent summary of the debate, see Driessen 2008.
[306] Evans 1900-1901: 5, 12, 35, 38, 51; Evans 1906: 10.

abandoned and never reoccupied during the Bronze Age.[307] More importantly, he noted that the LM II destruction was caused by a fire, whereas in LM IIIB the site was merely abandoned. Therefore, the Linear B tablets, which were baked by the fire that destroyed the palace, date to LM II.

After the discovery of the Linear B tablets from Pylos in 1939 and the decipherment of the script in 1952, the LM II date of the Knossos tablets was first called into question. Based on similarities between the Knossos and Pylos tablets, Blegen believed that the Knossos tablets were roughly contemporary with those from Pylos and was the first to suggest a later LM IIIB-IIIC date for the Knossos documents.[308] Moreover, Evan's LM II date was based primarily on what he and Duncan Mackenzie termed "Palace Style" jars found in the Western Magazines. Since his excavations, the chronology of Mycenaean pottery has changed considerably.[309] Popham re-evaluated all of the pottery from the destruction levels of the palace and established that most of the sherds date to the LM IIIA1 period with some early features of LM IIIA2. Therefore, he dated the destruction of the final palace at Knossos to the beginning of LM IIIA2.[310] Though many scholars favor this date, Leonard Palmer, a philologist and Linear B scholar, proposed early on that the Linear B tablets date to the end of the LM IIIB

[307] Though some evidence for post-Bronze Age occupation exists in the form of Geometric, Greek and Roman sherds, see Evans 1921-1935: IV, 18. Erickson 2010.
[308] An LM IIIB date was first proposed by Blegen (1958). He later changed this date to LM IIIC, believing that the Knossos tablets ought to post-date the tablets at Pylos (Blegen and Rawson 1966: 419).
[309] Furumark 1972: 84, 104; Mountjoy 1986.
[310] Popham 1970: 84.

period.[311] He based his theory on the fact that some of the Linear B tablets were found with a cache of double amphorae and stirrup jars dating to LM IIIB.[312] He argued that certain features of the Knossos tablets were more advanced than the Linear B tablets at Pylos, suggesting that the Knossian texts ought to post-date the Pylian.[313]

Palmer was also one of the first to emphasize the unity of the Knossian archive.[314] He believed that all tablets from Knossos were part of the same administration, since several of the same personal names and toponyms were found on tablets from different sections of the palace.[315] Therefore, all the texts must date to the same phase – the date of which is determined by the latest pottery found with the tablets, i.e. LM IIIB. The work of Olivier, who studied the scribal hands and noted that tablets written by the same scribe were found in various findspots throughout the site, seemed to support Palmer's notion of the "unity of the archive."[316]

The defenders of Evans responded vehemently against Palmer, criticizing his interpretation of the archaeological material and his assertion that Evans suppressed evidence for an LM IIIB date in his published reports.[317] Palmer's theory received little support until Eric Hallager, an archaeologist excavating at Khania in western Crete,

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311 Palmer and Boardman 1963; Palmer 1969. See also *Antiquity* volumes between 1961-1962 for early debates.

312 Palmer and Boardman. 1963: 116, 174, 229-231. See also Popham (1964) for dating of the so-called "Reoccupation" pottery. Many of these vases were found in the North Entrance Passage which Palmer referred to as the Great Deposit.

313 Palmer 1957: 58-92.

314 First suggested by Hooker 1964.

315 Palmer and Boardman 1963: 170-173.

316 Olivier 1967, though Olivier favored an LM IIIA2 date for the tablets. It should also be noted that though Olivier's work seemed to support the 'unity of the archive' theory, he himself did not argue in favor of it.

317 Boardman 1961, 1962, 1964; Hood 1961, 1962. For Palmer's responses, see Palmer 1962, 1964, 1968.

argued in favor of an LM IIIB1 date.[318] He discredited the use of the "Palace Style" jars to date the final destruction because they are not complete vases; rather they are reconstructed based on only 1/10 of the original sherds. To account for the large quantity of LM IIIA2 sherds found at the palace, he explains that this pottery was used in the walls and floors during the reconstruction of the palace *after* the destruction at the beginning of LM IIIA2.[319] On the other hand, an overwhelming majority of "complete" vases are LM IIIB1 in date[320] *and* these vases contain evidence of burning.[321] He believes these intact vessels were on the floors of rooms prior to the destruction (which accounts for their preserved condition) and were burned in the same fire destruction as the Linear B tablets. To support his views, Hallager refers to early excavations of Knossos (prior to Evans) undertaken by Minos Kalokairinos who, as Hallager believes, excavated in the area of the West Magazines.[322] Here, Kalokairinos found pottery clearly datable to LM IIIB1, some of which were also complete vessels.

Hallager's LM IIIB1 date is strengthened by the discovery of transport stirrup jars inscribed in Linear B (hereafter, referred to as ISJ's). Several ISJ's were found both on

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[318] Hallager 1977.

[319] Hallager (1978: 26) showed that such was the case in the S. Wing of the palace which clearly dates to LM IIIB; see also Hallager 1977: 75-81.

[320] By complete vases, Hallager only considered those made up of at least ¾ of the original sherds. By these standards, only 3 LM IIIA vases can be identified, whereas over 100 LM IIIB vases exist (1977: 89; 1978: 29).

[321] Hallager 1977: 91-93 and figs. 64-67.

[322] The most complete accounts of Kalokairinos' work were published by two scholars who visited the site while excavations were in progress and examined, drew and photographed the material: Haussoullier 1880 and Fabricius 1886. For a recent detailed account of Kalokairinos' excavation, see Driessen 1990: 14-31.

Crete[323] and at mainland sites[324] and many are inscribed with Cretan place names.[325] Based on clay analyses, most of these vessels are either of West Cretan or South-central Cretan origin and stylistically date from LM IIIA2 to IIIB1.[326] Furthermore, an ISJ from Thebes is inscribed with the term *wa-na-ka-te-ro*, an adjectival form derived from *wa-na-ka* meaning "king," along with the Cretan toponym *o-du-ru-wi-jo*.[327] The presence of the term for "king" may also be attested on Crete itself during the LM IIIB1 period: one of the ISJ's from Khania records the syllabogram *wa* which, in this context, can be understood as an abbreviation for *wa-na-ka-te-ro.*[328] The fact that some of the ISJ's (and/or their contents) are described as "kingly" may be seen as evidence for Mycenaean rulers on Crete during LM IIIB1, though not necessarily at Knossos itself.

Again, supporters of Evans argued against an LM IIIB1 destruction date. The strongest point of contention is Hallager's use (or misuse) of Kalokairinos' early excavations and the claim that he dug <u>*only*</u> in the West Magazines. As Popham notes,

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[323] On Crete, 16 ISJ's were found at Khania (Catling, Cherry, Jones and Killen 1980) and one in the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (Popham 1969).

[324] The majority of the ISJ's were found at mainland sites including Thebes, Mycenae, Tiryns and Eleusis which are published in Sacconi 1974.

[325] A total of six different place names occur on the various ISJ's, all of which also appear in the Knossos tablets (van Alfen 2008: 236).

[326] Catling, and Jones 1977. One ISJ (KH Z 2) found at Khania seems to be made of clay from the region around Knossos and examples of LM IIIB1 pottery from Khania are found in the Little Palace and main Palace at Knossos, demonstrating the connections between Knossos and Khania in the pottery industry (Hallager 1978: 22).

[327] TH Z 839 discussed in Palmer 1963: 275. *o-du-ru-wi-jo* is also found on KN Ai 982 and C 902 as an adjectival ethnic derived from the Cretan place name *o-du-ru-we* (cf. KN C 902 and Co 910), but in the case of the ISJ, it is more likely that it is being used as a toponym (van Alfen 2008: 236). The actual location of this site on the island of Crete is debated. Some propose the eastern side of the island, perhaps Zakros (Catling and Millett 1965), while others suggest the west side, perhaps Khania (Godart 1972: 423; Killen 1977: 45).

[328] Godart and Olivier 1975: 42-43. *wa* also occurs on an ISJ from Eleusis (EL Z 1) along with the well-attested Cretan place name, *da-*22-to,* strengthening the claim that Mycenaean rulers were present on Crete in LM IIIB1 (Hallager and Vlasakis 1978).

Kalokairinos also excavated in the South Front Basements of the palace.[329] Evans reports the discovery of intact LM IIIB vases from this area and believes that these basements were used by the LM IIIB "squatters" for pottery storage. He concludes that since Kalokairinos' LM IIIB1 vases were not found in context with the Linear B tablets, they cannot be used to provide their date. This explanation does not account for the LM IIIB1 double amphorae found in the North Entrance Passage along with a deposit of tablets. Boardman had attempted to refute this evidence noting that the vases do *not* show signs of burning and must date to the "reoccupation period" after which the site was abandoned, not destroyed by fire.[330] Therefore, the amphorae cannot be contemporary with the tablets which were preserved by fire. His arguments, however, are weakened by the burned vases found in several areas of the palace, suggesting a widespread LM IIIB1 fire destruction.[331] Despite the dissenting opinions, the evidence for LM IIIB1 ISJ's bearing the term for "royal" at the very least attests to literate Mycenaean Greek-speaking people in a position of political power beginning early in LM IIIA1 and continuing to the end of LM IIIB1. As a result, the later date for the Knossos tablets has received some support and even today scholars have not reached a consensus.[332]

The dating arguments above were based on the idea that all the Linear B tablets from Knossos belonged to the same fire destruction. Driessen thoroughly analyzed the

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[329] Popham 1979; Momigliano and Hood 1994: 106-117.
[330] Palmer and Boardman 1963: 48-49.
[331] Hallager 1977: 91-93.
[332] More recent contributions to the debate include Shelmerdine 1992; Haskell 1997; Watrous and Blitzer 1997. The current trend among Cretan archaeologists is to favor a destruction of the Knossos palace in LM IIIA2.

Linear B texts from the Room of the Chariot Tablets (hereafter, the *RCT*).[333] Based on the archaeological context, as well as palaeographical and prosopographical evidence, he believed this deposit pre-dates the other tablets from Knossos. Since no datable pottery was found in the Linear B deposit, he examines the stratigraphical evidence to reconstruct the architectural history of the *RCT* and its neighboring rooms. In simplified terms, the *RCT* is stratified between (1) a deposit containing MM IIIB pottery and (2) a rectangular building associated with pottery dating to the beginning of LM IIIA2. He concludes that the phase of the *RCT* containing the Linear B tablets was part of a major reconstruction of the east façade of the West Wing which began in LM II and was destroyed by fire early in LM IIIA1. Following this destruction, the *RCT* was never rebuilt.

The archaeological evidence agrees well with the Linear B tablets themselves, which differ significantly from the other Knossos tablets.[334] Features that distinguish the *RCT* tablets from the rest of the Knossos tablets include: (1) different scribes, originally grouped together by Olivier as Scribe "124";[335] (2) different clay used to make the tablets; (3) more frequent use of the *verso* side (which is common in Linear A tablets); (4) little standardization in tablet shapes and text layout; (4) a high frequency of erasures;

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[333] Driessen 1990 and 2000.

[334] The unusual characteristics of the *RCT* tablets were recognized prior to Driessen. An early explanation for their uniqueness was that they were not real documents, but scribal exercises (Chadwick 1967 and 1968).

[335] Olivier (1967) noticed that the *RCT* scribes were very similar to each other, yet distinctly different from other Knossos scribes. He made some scribal distinctions within this group using letters of the alphabet ("124"a, - "124" s). Driessen (2000: 19-99) further subdivided these scribes using pinacological and paleographical features.

(5) some linguistic particularities;[336] and (6) a higher proportion of Greek personal names and fewer Minoan anthroponyms.[337] He adds that many of these features seem to reflect a newly installed and relatively small scale administration concerned primarily with an elite and militaristic class. Furthermore, the LM II – early LM IIIA1 archaeological evidence from sites near Knossos seems to conform well with the *RCT* tablets, especially the introduction of the so-called "Warrior Graves." These built tombs, which do not seem to have any secure Minoan predecessors and contain warlike grave goods similar to those found in the Grave Circles at Mycenae, have suggested to many scholars the arrival of Mycenaean Greeks to the island of Crete.[338]

Most Mycenologists are convinced by Driessen's findings, despite some attempts to discredit him.[339] The effect of his work is two-fold: (1) no longer must the Knossos tablets be viewed as part of a single administration and therefore they do not all have to date to the same phase; and (2) Mycenaeans were present at Knossos perhaps as early as LM II. Since LM IIIB1 ISJ's (or their contents) are described as "royal," suggesting some form of Mycenaean rule, we now can be reasonably certain how long the

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[336] Including the alternation of *–o* and *–u* vowels in toponyms, suggesting that the Mycenaeans were still inconsistent when rendering Minoan place names.

[337] Driessen (2000) discusses several other differences; I have provided the most compelling ones.

[338] Popham 1988: 221-222; Watrous and Blitzer 1997: 512-513; Niemeier 1983: 217-236, and Driessen and MacDonald 1984. Hooker (1968: 80-86) proposed indigenous origins for the Warrior Graves, including the tombs at Mavro Spelio and the Great Temple Tomb, but his arguments are not convincing.

[339] Popham 1990: 174-178; Warren 1992: 137-139. See also Sjöquist and Åström (1991) who claim that palm print (R LAMBDA) on one of the *RCT* tablets (Xd 105) may be the same as another print from a Magazine IV (L 473), suggesting that the texts from the *RCT* are the same date as the rest of the Knossos tablets. However, the results of their study have not been confirmed and the validity of this palm print has been called into question by Olivier and Driessen (personal communication).

Mycenaeans were involved in the political and economic administration of Knossos[340] and other regions of Crete.[341]

Though the new date of the *RCT* has clarified some issues, the date of the rest of the Knossos tablets remains elusive. As mentioned above, it is likely that this problem may never be resolved. To put it plainly, the necessary evidence to provide a secure date no longer exists. The information that is available could reasonably support either a date early in LM IIIA2 or at the end of LM IIIB1, depending upon interpretation. What can be determined with some degree of certainty is whether different tablet deposits are contemporary with each other. A recent study of the findspots of the Knossos tablets and their archaeological contexts has done just that. Richard Firth has thoroughly examined the original notebooks regarding the locations of the tablets within the palace and observed interconnections between the different tablet deposits.[342] In particular, many of the same scribal hands, as well as palm prints found on the tablets, occur in different findspots.[343] It follows then that two different deposits containing tablets either written by the same scribe or made by the same person must be contemporary. Based on his analysis, Firth divided the Knossos tablets into three groups:[344] the *RCT*, Group A and

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[340] Beginning in LM II – early LM IIIA1 and continuing either until the beginning of LM IIIA2 (a date which is accepted by most Cretan archaeologists) or LM IIIB1(a date which is still favored by a few archaeologists, most notably Hallager).

[341] At least until LM IIIB1 at attested by ISJ's. For a recent discussion of the chronology of the Linear B tablets, see Driessen 2008.

[342] Firth 2000-2001: 262-263.

[343] Firth 2000-2001: 264-267. He also looked at sealings found with the tablets. However, he did not consider this strong evidence since sealings can be in use for long periods of time.

[344] These groups do not include two tablet deposits which are important for this dissertation: the Room of Column Bases (or *RCB*) and the Room of the Clay Chest. Firth does not believe that they have ***strong*** links to either Group A or B.

Group B. Group A consists of findspots primarily from the West Wing of the palace,[345] whereas Group B includes the North Entrance Passage (*NEP*), the Northwest Insula, and the area west of the Arsenal.[346] Regarding the date of these groups, Firth supports the early date for the *RCT* tablets. For Groups A and B, he prudently does not provide a definitive answer, though he does seem to favor an LM IIIB1 date, especially for Group B.[347] However, he does *not* rule out that Groups A and B can be contemporary and date either to early LM IIIA2 or the end of IIIB1. Rather, he emphasizes that all of the tablets from findspots in Group A should belong to the same period and all the tablets from Group B should date to the same phase. Driessen, however, has argued that the tablets from the *NEP*[348] (among Firth's Group B tablets) show palaeographical and epigraphical idiosyncracies and may pre-date the tablet deposits from the West Wing of the palace (Firth's Group A tablets).[349]

III. APPROACH TO INTERPRETING THE KNOSSOS TABLET EVIDENCE

How then do the dates of the Knossos tablets affect my analysis of Mycenaean religion on Knossos? Despite the uncertainty regarding the date of the majority of the

[345] The West Magazine, the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco, the SW Pillar Room, the Area of the Clay Signet, the East-West Corridor, the Corridor of the Sword Tablets, the Corridor of the House Tablets and the Arsenal.
[346] Firth admits that some connections between Groups A and B exist but the links between them are much weaker than the links between the findspots within each group.
[347] Based primarily on their association with LM IIIB double amphorae.
[348] Also referred to as the Area of the Bull Relief.
[349] Driessen 1999 and 2008: 72. His theory is supported independently by the work of Skelton 2008.

Knossos tablets, I believe we can reconstruct a basic history for Late Minoan Crete with which most scholars would agree. The following outline of events provides the historical framework for my examination of the evidence. In LM IB, all of the palatial centers on Crete were destroyed and/or abandoned. I do not speculate on what caused these destructions. What we do know is that by the end of LM II, Mycenaeans were present at Knossos in positions of political and economic power, attested by the *RCT* tablets and the introduction of Warrior Graves.[350] It is possible, however, that their power at this time was in a limited capacity[351] and likely included local Minoan leaders.[352] A fire destruction at the beginning of LM IIIA1 ruined portions of the West Wing of the palace and preserved the earliest Linear B archive. The Mycenaeans, perhaps in conjunction with local Minoan elites, continued their economic and political control over Knossos after the LM IIIA1 destruction and rebuilt the damaged sections of the palace, making some changes suitable to their tastes. Another fire destruction occurred early in LM IIIA2, the strongest evidence for which is seen in the West Wing. It is possible that Linear B tablets were fired in this destruction and scholars who favor this date consider this period to be the height of Mycenaean culture on Crete. Again, I do not speculate on the nature or extent of Mycenaean power, since the date of the tablets in my opinion is undetermined. Parts of the palace were again rebuilt in LM IIIA2, though the extent of the reconstruction is debated. Popham believes the modifications were minimal and the palace functioned in a lesser capacity than during the previous period. On the other hand,

[350] Driesen 1990: 130 and 2000: 10.
[351] Driessen 1990; 2000.
[352] Preston 2008; Bennet 2010.

Hallager who favors an LM IIIB1 date for the tablets, believes that most of the palace was reconstructed and the administration was fully functional. Also during this phase, Greek-speaking elites are present in West Crete producing Linear B tablets and participating in the production and distribution of ISJ's. Final fire destructions occurred at Knossos and Khania in LM IIIB1 at which point the evidence for Mycenaean presence on Crete in the form of Linear B tablets is no longer available. I have provided a summary of this historical outline in Table 1 below.

Table 3-1: Historical Outline of Mycenaean Crete

Phase	**Relative Dates**	**Linear B Evidence**	**Description**
Phase I	LM II – beginning of LM IIIA1	*RCT* tablets	Mycenaean presence on Crete, probably in a limited capacity
Phase II	beginning of LM IIIA1 – beginning of LM IIIA2	Knossos tablets? (Group B?)	Mycenaean political and economic control over Knossos (and possibly central Crete)
	beginning of LM IIIA2 – end of LM IIIB1	Knossos tablets? (Group A?) Khania tablets ISJ's	Mycenaean control over Knossos, though its extent is unknown. New Mycenaean center at Khania.

In Chapter 1, I established two distinct phases for the Late Bronze Age, based primarily on the nature of the evidence available (Chapter 1, Section III.B). The remainder of this dissertation discusses these phases in the following manner. The *RCT* tablets and contemporary archaeological evidence is considered under Phase I (LM II –

beginning of LM IIIA1).[353] The remaining Knossos tablets fall within Phase II (beginning of LM IIIA1 – end of LM IIIB1).[354] However, I examine the tablets based on their findspots, beginning with two tablet deposits that contain the bulk of religious tablets from Knossos.[355] The information obtained from these texts allows us to better understand and interpret the remaining religious tablets. In my conclusions, I examine Groups A and B tablets separately. Religious tablets belonging to Group A were found in the Gallery of Jewel Fresco, the West Magazines, the Area of Clay Signet, and the Arsenal, whereas the only Group B findspot containing religious texts is the Area of the Bull Relief (also referred to as the North Entrance Passage or *NEP*). Though such a system may be arduous, I believe this is the most cautious approach to the evidence.

[353] Addressed in Chapter 4.
[354] Addressed in Chapter 5.
[355] The Room of the Clay Chest and the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco tablet deposits.

Chapter 4: Evidence for Religion at Knossos in Phase I (LM II – beginning of LM IIIA1)

I. INTRODUCTION

Evidence for religion at Knossos during Phase I consists of both archaeological remains and Linear B inscriptions. Archaeological evidence from the palace is scanty because of later building over the earlier remains. In addition, much of the evidence for cult locales and ritual objects seem to be Minoan in style, making it difficult to determine if they were used by Minoans or Mycenaeans. The textual evidence is also minimal. The only Linear B tablets which date to Phase I are those found in the *RCT*. Of these only about eight or nine tablets (depending upon interpretation) contain religious information. The tablets are discussed in detail below.

II. TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

The *RCT*, which contained Linear B tablets, is located to the west of the central court (findspot C on the map of the palace, fig 4.1). As mentioned in Chapter 3, the tablets from this deposit are unique in their format and paleography, and all were written by Scribe "124."[356] Tablets containing religious information are few, often fragmentary and difficult to interpret. Each will be addressed in detail below.[357]

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[356] Scribe "124" does not refer to an individual hand, rather a group of writers. For a more detailed discussion, see Chapter 3, Section II, Olivier (1967) and Driessen (2000: 19-99).
[357] See Appendix IA for a complete list of religious tablets from the *RCT*.

A. KN F 51

KN F 51 is one of the more controversial tablets from the site of Knossos. It is transcribed and translated as follows:

F 51		HORD T 7 V 5 Z 3̣
verso	.1	wa HORD T 1 V 3 po-ro-de-ṣo-no V 2 Z 2
	.2	di-we HORD T 1 HORD T 4 Z 1 ma-qe[358] HORD V 6
Translation		76.4 liters of HORD[359]
verso	.1	For the *wa* 14.4 liters of HORD, for *po-ro-de-qo-no* 4 liters (of HORD)
	.2	For Zeus 9.6 liters of HORD, 38.8 liters of HORD, and for *ma* 9.6 liters of HORD

Only two terms on this tablet, *wa* and *di-we*, are identifiable. *wa* seems to be an abbreviation for *wa-na-ka-(te)* meaning "king" or the adjective *wa-na-ka-te-ro* ("kingly" or "royal"). However, the interpretation of *wa* as *wa-na-ka(-te-ro)* is based on parallels found on ISJ's which date to LM IIIB1 (see Chapter II).[360] Though this interpretation is accepted by most Mycenologists, it should be noted that the use of *wa* as an abbreviation

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[358] The term *ma-qe* was originally transcribed as *ma-qẹ*. Godart and Sacconi (1996) argued that *qe* was not a possible reading for this sign. What seemed to be preserved on F 51 was a circle with a horizontal and vertical line inside. The sign for *qe* is a circle with three or four horizontal dashes in the center, whereas *ka* is a circle with a plus sign in the center. Therefore, they believed that this sign sequence should be transcribed as *ma-ka*. Recently, Duhoux (2007) argues that the reading should in fact be *ma-qe* based on recent photographs of the tablet (2007: fig. 10-11). In reality, what appears to be preserved are two inscribed horizontal lines, and the vertical line, present in the earlier photographs and drawings of the tablet was in fact an accidental scratch on the surface of the tablet. For this reason, he believes that the correct reading should be *ma-qe,* and I have written it as such in my transcription. Despite this new reading, I discuss the possibilities of *ma-ka* as a divinity in the Knossos tablets because of the on-going debate surrounding this term.

[359] HORD was originally interpreted as the ideogram representing wheat. However, R. Palmer's seminal article has convincingly argued that HORD should in fact represent barley (Palmer 1992). Though I favor her interpretation, HORD is frequently referred to as wheat in scholarly literature. To avoid confusion, I do not translate this ideogram.

[360] Killen 1966: 107; Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 589. Citation for ISJ's (EL Z 1 and perhaps KH Z 16 but without context): Godart and Olivier 1975: 25; Hallager and Vlasakis 1976: 217.

for *wa-na-ka-(te-ro)* is only attested in a much later period (LM IIIB1) and on a different medium (ISJ's) where the limited space on a stirrup jar would account for the use of an abbreviation. Therefore, it may be presumptuous to assume that *wa* on F 51 is functioning in the same way. It is true that the use of abbreviations is fairly common in the corpus of Linear B, so the use of *wa* for *wa-na-ka-(te-ro)* would not be surprising.[361] However, such abbreviations do not occur in the *RCT,* with the exception of *o* for *o-pe-ro*.[362] For this reason, *wa* functioning as an abbreviation for the ruler of Knossos is difficult to justify. However, since this interpretation is so widely accepted, I discuss the possible implications for it below.

di-we is indisputably the dative form of the theonym "Zeus." As mentioned in Chapter 1, *di-we*, or Zeus, can be viewed as a divinity in the Bronze Age based on his occurrence in contexts with other divinities on a number of Linear B tablets as a recipient of offerings, such as a gold cup on PY Tn 316 which is being sent to a sanctuary named after him (*di-wi-jo* or /*Diwion*/ meaning "sanctuary of Zeus"). In addition, he receives an offering of oil on KN Fp 1 which is discussed in detail below (Chapter 5, Section II.A). Given Zeus' presence on this tablet, KN F 51 does seem to have some religious significance.

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[361] For example, the use of the abbreviation *DA* as discussed by Ruijgh 1987.

[362] Cf. V 145 and Xd 8034. The sign *DA* also occurs in the *RCT* on various Uf tablets but its function on these texts is difficult to interpret (see Ruijgh 1987: 321-322) and it may not be used as an abbreviation as it does in the Pylos tablets. In addition, the full term *wa-na-ka* occurs in the *RCT,* but most scholars believe that it is probably a personal name (Aura Jorro 1985 and 1993: 400-401; Lejeune 1962; Tegyey 1987: 365). If this is the case, then the title *wanax* is unattested in the *RCT* making the abbreviation *wa* for *wa-na-ka-(te-ro)* even more unlikely.

More problematical are the terms *po-ro-de-qo-no*[363] and *ma-qe* (formerly *ma-ka*). The former is a hapax, but its similarity to *po-ro-ko-re-te* on PY Jn 829 has been noted.[364] On this tablet, *ko-re-te* occurs alongside *po-ro-ko-re-te*, understood as a local administrative title subordinate to the *ko-re-te*, something like a '*vice'-ko-re-te.*[365] The term *de-qo-no* is now attested in the new Linear B tablets from the site of Thebes and is interpreted by the editors as "the officiant of the meal."[366] By analogy, the *po-ro-de-qo-no,* would be "the vice-officiant of the meal." Though the interpretation of *po-ro* seems correct, problems with their interpretation of *de-qo-no* are addressed below.

ma-ka (now *ma-qe*) has been the subject of much controversy which should be addressed here.[367] The term *ma-ka* occurs a number of times in the new Thebes tablets. Perhaps significantly, it is found on a tablet with the term *de-qo-no* (TH Fq 254), a term clearly connected etymologically to *po-ro-de-qo-no* on F 51. Based on its occurrences in the Thebes tablets, Godart and Sacconi have interpreted *ma-ka* as /*Mā Gā*/, attested in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*[368] and read as an abbreviation for /*Māter Gē/* or "Mother Earth."

Godart and Sacconi believe that their interpretation of *ma-ka* as a theonym on F 51 is supported by its position in the same line as *di-we.* Similarly, they have interpreted

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[363] A word divider may have been inscribed between *po-ro-de* and *qo-no*, which would change the interpretation. This reading, however, is uncertain and the divider could be an accidental scratch. In addition, since *po-ro-de* and *qo-no* would be hapaxes, I believe it is more likely that it is a single word *po-ro-de-qo-no.*

[364] Driessen 1989: 373, n. 32.

[365] Ruijgh (1987: 308) has suggested that the prefix /*pro-*/ meaning "vice" has an Indo-European origin (e.g. Latin *propraetor*).

[366] Aravantinos, Godart, and Sacconi 2001: 322.

[367] See Aravantinos, Godart, and Sacconi 2001; Palaima 2000-2001, 2003a, and 2003b. More recently discussed by James (2002-2003) who provides a concise summary of the problems with and possible interpretations for *ma-ka;* Duhoux 2002-2003 and 2007.

[368] Godart and Sacconi 1996: 99-113; Aravantinos, Godart and Sacconi 2001: 317.

po-ro-de-qo-no as an official because it occurs in the same line as *wa,* which they understand as an abbreviation for *wa-na-ka.*[369] Therefore, their interpretation of F 51 is based on the idea that line .1 records quantities of HORD allotted to human officials, perhaps religious functionaries, and line .2 offerings to divinities.[370] Though at first glance this interpretation may seem acceptable, more likely suggestions have been offered.

Since *ma-ka* is only a two syllable word, the possibilities for interpretation are numerous. Proposed translations include /*Maga*/ (cf. Classical Greek Μαγά), an abstract deity related to the kneading or processing of grain,[371] a personal name /*Malka(s)*/ or /*Marga*/ (cf. Classical Greek Μάλκα(ς) or Μαργά),[372] or /*maga*/ (cf. Classical Greek μαγά) meaning "for kneading".[373] In addition, it has recently been proposed that linguistically *po-ro-de-qo-no* cannot be a masculine nominative singular /*prodeipnos*/ (cf. Greek προδεῖπνος) meaning "the officiant of the meal." Rather, it must be the neuter form /*prodeipnon*/ (cf. Greek προδεῖπνον) meaning "a preliminary meal."[374] If this is the case, then *po-ro-de-qo-no* may be parallel to *ma-ka* in the sense of "for kneading" and both of these terms describe the prescribed uses for the HORD. Following this interpretation, two offerings are being made: one to *wa* with a portion of HORD

[369] Problems with this interpretation were addressed above.
[370] Godart and Sacconi 1996.
[371] Palaima 2000-2001: 481.
[372] Melena 2001: 50.
[373] Palaima 2003b: 35.
[374] Palaima 2003b; Meier-Brügger 2006.

designated for a preliminary meal and the other to Zeus with a portion designated for kneading.

These two different interpretations are based on the assumption that the four terms on F 51 are somehow paired. In the former, *wa* and *po-ro-de-qo-no* are understood as mortal recipients, with *di-we* and *ma-ka* as divine recipients. In the latter, *wa* and *di-we* are the recipients and *po-ro-de-qo-no* and *ma-ka* are terms describing the uses of the HORD. It should be noted that these four terms are not necessarily meant to be paired in either way.[375] The fact that *po-ro-de-qo-no* cannot refer to an officiant strengthens the interpretation of *ma-ka* as a *nomen actionis* meaning "for kneading." However, given the uniqueness of this tablet and lack of clear parallels, it is perhaps best at this stage to leave the matter open.[376] What is certain based on F 51 is that a divinity by the name of Zeus was honored with two offerings of HORD. It is a bit odd that the quantities of HORD allotted to Zeus are recorded in two separate entries (HORD T 1 and HORD T 4 Z 1), especially since all of the other entries only record a single quantity of HORD. Unfortunately, it is not possible to ascertain what motivated this scribe to record the entry in this way, when he could have just as easily written a single, total quantity (HORD T 5 Z 1).

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[375] James (2002-2003).

[376] Unfortunately, this tablet (and the occurrence of *ma-ka*, in particular) is tied to recent interpretations of the new tablets from Thebes, as argued by Aravantinos, Godart, and Sacconi (2001). A fuller discussion of this controversial work and its implications on our understanding of Mycenaean religion is provided below (see Section II.G of this Chapter).

B. KN V 114

Other religious references from the *RCT* are even more difficult to interpret. V 114 is the most peculiar:

V 114	.a	a-mi-ni-so
	.b	pa-ze , / pe-ḍạ , wa-tu ,
verso	.1	pa-ze , a-mi-ni-so , / pe-da , wa-tu
	.2	*vacat*
Translation	.a	Amnisos
	.b	Padje (is going?) to the town
verso	.1	Padje Amnisos (is going?) to the town
	.2	*vacat*

What this translation means is uncertain, despite the fact that all of the words (except *pa-ze*) are understandable in terms of Greek. *a-mi-ni-so* refers to the site of Amnisos, where remains of a Bronze Age settlement have been unearthed. *pe-da* seems to correspond to the Aeolian */peda/* meaning "to, toward."[377] A dialectical difference exists between *pe-da* and *me-ta.* The term *pe-da* occurs twice on this tablet from the *RCT,* but only once (perhaps twice) on a Knossos tablet dating to my Phase II,[378] whereas *me-ta* is more commonly used in later Linear B tablets. However, both terms occur in the *RCT,*[379] perhaps suggesting a difference in meaning between these two terms.[380]

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[377] Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 569; Palmer 1963. 55, 443; Gerard-Rousseau 1968: 242. Vilborg 1960: 122; Chantraine 1968: 866.
[378] On Fh 2013 (and possibly on Fh 341) from the Room of the Column Bases.
[379] *pe-da* twice on V 114 and *me-ta* on the label Ws 8493.
[380] For a full discussion of these terms with complete bibliography, see Driessen 1989: 191.

Scholars agree that *wa-tu* is */wastu/* or "town", corresponding to the Classical Greek ἄστυ.[381] Though the etymology of *pa-ze* remains elusive, it has been interpreted as a theonym, probably in the nominative case, because it appears to be linguistically equivalent to *pa-de,* whose divine nature is clear in several other Knossos texts. Risch first suggested that *pa-ze,* representing *pa-dje,*[382] is a variant of *pa-de*.[383] *pa-de* frequently receives offerings from the palace along with other divinities, including the term *pa-si-te-o-i,* Mycenaean Greek for "to all the gods" (cf. Classical Greek πᾶσι θεοῖς). In fact, *pa-de* seems to be a very important divinity at Knossos, occurring more than any other theonym and on a greater variety of tablets (Fp, Fs, Ga, and C series).

C. KN Xd 140

pa-ze is also found on the fragmentary *RCT* tablet Xd 140,[384] which is transcribed below.

Xd 140	.1	da-pu-ri-ṭo[
	.2a	pa-ze-qe , ke-wo [
	.2b	**47*-ta-qo[
	.3	**47*-[
	.4	*infra mutila*

[381] Interestingly, the term *wa-tu* occurs on another religious tablet from Pylos (Tn 316). Unfortunately, the portion of this tablet containing *wa-tu* is difficult to interpret and the role of the "town" in these religious contexts is uncertain.

[382] The sign *ze* can be read as "k^{y}e", "g^{y}e", "d^{y}e", "d^{j}e"; see Hooker 1980: 54.

[383] Risch 1987: 291 and n. 40. *pa-de* and its context on other Knossos tablets is discussed in more detail below (see Chapter 4, Section II.G and Chapter 5, Sections II.A and II.E).

[384] Driessen (1989) links this tablet with two other page-shaped tablets Ai 1805 and E 132, based on similarities in tablet-type and stylus. (See Appendix I.A for transcriptions of these tablets). He refers to these three tablets as the *da-pu-ri-to* set and believes they may all relate to religion. For the most part, these two tablets do not provide sound information about Mycenaean religion and Driessen's suggestion that the large number of women recorded may relate to the cult of *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* is not convincing. For these reasons, these tablets are not discussed here.

On this tablet, only two terms are clearly understandable: *pa-ze-qe* and *da-pu-ri-ṭọ*. The *–qe* attached to *pa-ze* is an enclitic meaning "and." *pa-ze* is followed by the hapax *ke-wo* whose etymology is unknown. *da-pu-ri-to* is the place name or locale /*Daburinthos*/ (cf. Classical Greek Λαβυρίνθος).[385] This sign sequence is a variant spelling of *da-pu$_2$-ri-to*[386] which also occurs in religious contexts on KN Gg 702 and Oa 745 (see Chapter 5 Section II.B).[387] Driessen believes that *da-pu-ri-to* may be a header on Xd 140 and that *pa-ze* is localized at this site. Such an interpretation suggests that *pa-ze* is honored at two different locales: *da-pu-ri-ṭọ*[on this tablet and *a-mi-ni-so* on V 114. Whether *da-pu-ri-ṭọ*[is in fact a header is questionable, however. The enclitic *–qe* following *pa-ze* may suggest that *pa-ze* and *da-pu-ri-ṭọ*[are parallel entries. Unfortunately, the tablet is broken on the right so it is uncertain what the *–qe* is connecting. In any case, *pa-ze-qe* seems to be part of a "both ... and" (*-qe ... -qe*) construction, and therefore can only be correlative with *da-pu-ri-to* if *da-pu-ri-to* was also followed by *–qe*). The two other terms on this tablet, **47-ta-qo* and **47*-[, are interpreted by Melena as toponyms.[388] If this is the case, it seems more likely that *da-pu-ri-to* is another place name entry and that

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[385] The change from *d-* to *l-* is attested in Ὀδυσσεύς΄ Ὀλυσεύς. See Chantraine 1968: 255, 610; Gerard-Rousseau 1968: 56.

[386] It should be noted that the variant spellings, *pa-ze* and *da-pu-ri-to*, only occur in the *RCT*. These spelling variations may support the idea that the *RCT* is chronologically earlier than the other Knossos tablets, in that the Mycenaean rulers were still experimenting with the Linear B script and the representation of foreign Minoan words.

[387] *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo* is always followed by the term *po-ti-ni-ja* in the later Knossos tablets. Therefore, it may be possible to reconstruct line .1 of V 114 as *da-pu-ri-to*[*-jo po-ti-ni-ja*. Such a reconstruction would translate to "the Potnia (or Mistress) of Labyrinthos." Potnia is a female divinity who occurs frequently in the Linear B tablets. In many instances, she is delineated by a place name or epithet, though the theonym can also occur alone.

[388] Melena has proposed that sign **47*, which occurs only at Knossos, is used only in local place names and may represent some type of Minoan article (Melena forthcoming).

the locale in which *pa-ze* is situated either is not preserved on the tablet, is indicated by *ke-wo,* or is understood simply by the mention of the theonym.

D. KN Xd 97

One other divinity is clearly represented in the *RCT* tablets. The fragmentary Xd 97 mentions the name *di-wi-ja*, or /*Diwia*/ (cf. Classical Greek ΔίϜια) which is a feminine form linguistically related to the name "Zeus".[389] Other than this attestation, this theonym only occurs on tablets from Pylos where she has servants (*do-e-ro*)[390] on PY An 607 and Cn 1287 and receives a gold cup (**213*^{VAS}) in her sanctuary (*di-u-ja-jo*) on PY Tn 316.[391] Based on these occurrences, it is reasonable to suggest that *di-wi-ja* is also a goddess at Knossos. The only other term on Xd 97 is *di-wi-je-ja.* Though this term is related etymologically to *di-wi-ja* (or at least to Zeus), its precise meaning is disputed[392] and, since it does not occur elsewhere in the Linear B corpus, it cannot be interpreted with certainty.

E. KN V 280

V 280 also has some religious significance because it begins with the month name *wo-de-wi-jo* (see Appendix I.A). *wo-de-wi-jo* is attested on two other Knossos tablets, Fp

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389 Chadwick and Baumbach 1963: 199; Ruijgh 1967: 130, Gerard-Rousseau 1968: 68.

390 Only divinities and high ranking officials have *do-e-ro.*

391 On Cn 1287 and Tn 316, the alternate spelling *di-u-ja* is used (see Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 125, 168, 390 and 540; Ruijgh 1967: 130; Gerard-Rousseau 1968: 68).

392 Some suggestions include a servant of Zeus (Mühlestein 1956: 86), a priestess of the *Diwijon* (Heubeck 1963: 198) or a celebrant of Diwia (Ruijgh 1967: 131, 249, and 254), among others. For a full bibliography on the etymology of *di-wi-je-ja*, see Aura Jorro 1985 and 1993, I: 182.

16 and Ga 953, along with the word *me-no* meaning "month," which record religious offerings made to different divinities, including *pa-si-te-o-i* "to all the gods." In addition, Trümpy has convincingly shown that Linear B tablets containing month names are connected with religion.[393] The only other clearly understandable word on V 280 is *to-pe-za* meaning "table," also attested in the Pylos Ta series. How this term relates to the rest of the tablet and why tables are being recorded during the month of *wo-de-wi-jo* is uncertain, though some interpretations have been proposed based upon the term *o-u-ki-te-mi* (and what appears to be its variant *o-u-te-mi,* also on this tablet).

o-u-ki-te-mi is a hapax in Linear B, and seems to be a compound of *o-u-ki-* and *te-mi.* It is generally agreed that *o-u-ki* is a negation similar to the Classical Greek οὐ(κ) or οὔτις.[394] However, different interpretations for *te-mi* have been proposed. Some read it as /*themis*/ (Classical Greek θέμις), in which case *o-u-ki-te-mi* is translated as "it is not allowed." Based on this meaning, V 280 is considered a type of calendar recording festival and non-festival days in the month of *wo-de-wi-jo.* The *to-pe-za* then may have been used in some sort of ritual feasting. *te-mi* could also be read as */termis/* (Classical Greek τερμὶς) meaning "a support element"[395] and *o-u-ki-te-mi* would be understood as "not furnished with a support element." Presumably, this term would be describing the *to-pe-za*, in which case this tablet could be recording an inventory of furniture.

Both of these interpretations carry little weight, since they are based primarily on a word that is not clearly understood. Unfortunately, little else can be said with certainty

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[393] Trümpy (1989) provides a thorough examination of month names from Pylos.
[394] Cf. *o-u-ka* on MY Oe 111, *o-u-ko* on MY Oe 108-120 and *o-u-qe* on PY Aq 64 and in KN Sd series.
[395] Palaima 2000: 13-14.

about V 280 since the other terms are not interpretable.[396] Given the use of the month name *wo-de-wi-jo,* perhaps one thing can be stated with some confidence. As Driessen notes, "even if no proper interpretation is available … the specific sphere in which the meaning of this document has to be situated, is indeed religious."[397]

F. KN V 52

The last tablet to be discussed in this section is the controversial V 52. Whether this tablet belongs with those from the *RCT* has been questioned. Though Arthur Evans assigns this tablet to the *RCT*, Driessen believes that an error was made when recording its location, since V 52 differs substantially from the other *RCT* tablets.[398] Instead, he has argued that it more likely belongs with the tablets from the Room of the Clay Chest, partly because this area was being excavated on the same day as the *RCT* and because Fp 48, originally assigned to the *RCT*, has since been correctly reassigned to the Room of the Clay Chest.[399]

Though his reasons for the reassignment of V 52 are valid, I have offered counterarguments in favor of its placement among the *RCT* tablets.[400] The layout of the tablet is very similar to those of the Vc series from the *RCT*, which record personal

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[396] For a full discussion of the possible interpretations of the more obscure terms, see Driessen 1989.
[397] Driessen 1989: 371.
[398] The clay composition of V 52 is different, including the presence of salt crystals (Driessen personal correspondence); it is not written by Hand "124" (Olivier 1967) (in fact, it cannot be assigned to any of the identifiable scribes); the stylus and the size and shape of this tablet are unlike from those of the *RCT* (Melena personal correspondence).
[399] Driessen 1999 and Firth 1996-1997: 21. Now supported by Skelton 2008.
[400] Gulizio, Pluta and Palaima 2001.

names followed by a sign for the number "one". The Vc tablets, along with the Sc series from the *RCT,* are concerned with the assignment of chariots, horses and armor to individuals. Contrarily, the layout of V 52 is unlike the tablets from the Room of the Clay Chest which form a very coherent set (Chapter 5, Section II.A): nearly all of them record religious offerings of oil;[401] they all use ideograms and measurement signs; and they were all written by one of two scribes.[402] V 52 does not have any of these characteristics, making it equally anomalous among the Room of the Clay Chest tablets.[403]

Admittedly, the true findspot for V 52 may never be conclusively determined. This is especially unfortunate given the religious importance of this tablet. It is transcribed and translated as follows:

V 52	.1	a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja 1 u[ ]*vest.*[
	.2	e-nu-wa-ri-jo 1 pa-ja-wo-ne 1 po-se-da[-o-ne
lat. inf.		[[e-ri-nu-we , pe-ṛọ]] [
Translation	.1	For *a-ta-na* Potnia 1, for *u*...
	.2	For Enyalios 1, for Paiawon 1, for Poseidon
erasure		For Erinys, pe-ro?...

Seven terms are recorded on this tablet: one word (*u*-[) is too fragmentary to interpret and two words (*e-ri-nu* and *pe-ṛọ-*[404]) have been erased. Line .1 records *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja,* followed by the numerical sign for 'one'. This term has caused the most controversy.

[401] The only exception is Gg 10 which records offerings of honey.
[402] Hand 138 or 139.
[403] It should also be noted that U 96 assigned to the *RCT* is also unlike the other *RCT* tablets in clay composition, making the presence of V 52 less remarkable.
[404] This last term (*pe-r□o□*) also cannot be interpreted, partly because the second sign is uncertain.

po-ti-ni-ja is clearly derived from the Indo-European root /*pot-*/ meaning "powerful," and can be understood literally as "she who has power".[405] *Potnia* is paralleled in later Greek as πότνια meaning "mistress" (in the sense of the feminine version of "master"). Problematical is the interpretation of the first element, *a-ta-na-,* because of its resemblance to Athena, especially in the Homeric formula πότνι' Ἀθηναίη (*Il.* 6.305). As such, *a-ta-na* was interpreted as the goddess Athena in the dative[406] singular agreeing with *po-ti-ni-ja*.[407] However, *po-ti-ni-ja* in the Linear B tablets is often modified by other terms, either preceding or following this theonym (e.g. *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* and *po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja*). Words that precede *po-ti-ni-ja* are locales or key aspects of her cult in the genitive case, whereas terms that follow *po-ti-ni-ja*, define her cult aspect by means of an adjective or epithet describing her.[408] Therefore, it is more likely that *a-ta-na* is a genitive referring to some type of locale.[409]

Since *a-ta-na* should refer to a place name in the genitive, I have posited the possibility that this term may in fact refer to the toponym Athens. Linguistically, this interpretation is viable. In Classical Greek, Athens is a plural noun, meaning that the genitive form in Linear B would be *a-ta-na-o*, not *a-ta-na*. However, Burkert discusses a group of historical place names ending in *–ēnē* that seem to illustrate a pre-Greek

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405 Baumbach 1979: 151.
406 Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 311.
407 *po-ti-ni-ja* should be dative based on *po-se-da-o-ne*, which must be in the dative case. The form *po-ti-ni-ja* could also be a nominative of the rubric, in which case the dative would be implied. Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 126, 311, and 535; Ticchioni 1982: 219; Boëlle 1993: 285.
408 Gulizio, Pluta and Palaima 2001: 456-457. See also Hill 2002: 81-82.
409 Palmer 1963: 239; Gérard-Rousseau 1968: 44-45; Baumbach 1979: 152.

toponymic form in the singular.[410] In addition, the occurrence of Athens in the accusative singular in Homer's *Odyssey* (7.80) points to an earlier use of the place name in the singular. It is also possible that it refers to the well-known Athens in Attica.[411] It may be reasonable to assume then that *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* is the Potnia of Athens in Attica, who later becomes the goddess Athena.

po-se-da-o-ne is Mycenaean Greek for Poseidon (in the dative case), who is clearly a divinity in the Bronze Age.[412] Other than this attestation on V 52, *po-se-da-o-ne* does not occur on any other tablets from Crete, though he is prominent on tablets from Pylos. *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* is interpreted as a theonym, based on his name and parallelism with *po-se-da-o-ne* and *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* on this tablet.[413] It appears to be the Mycenaean Greek for */Enuwalios/* (cf. Classical Greek Ἐνυάλιος), a term known in later Greek as an epithet of Ares, the god of war.[414] The Bronze Age evidence, however, does not connect him in any way with Ares who is attested in Mycenaean Greek as *a-re*. *pa-ja-wo-ne* is the dative form of */Paiawon/* (cf. Homeric Greek Παιήων, Doric Greek Παιάν). Like *e-nu-wa-ri-jo, pa-ja-wo-ne* is an independent divinity in the Bronze Age, who appears in

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[410] Burkert 1985: 139.

[411] Gulizio, Pluta and Palaima 2001. According to Stephanos of Byzantium, several known places in Greece are called Athens, but many derive their toponyms from Athens in Attica. In addition, none are located on the island of Crete (cf. Kitchell 1977).

[412] *po-se-da-o-ne* is attested numerous times at Pylos in clearly religious contexts. In fact, he is arguably the most important divinity at that site.

[413] This is the only attestation of *e-nu-wa-ri-jo*. A possible variation in the form of *e-nwa-ri-jo* is found on PY An 724, but on this tablet it may represent a personal, rather than divine, name.

[414] Burkert (1985: 171) states that Enyalios, a war god, may be connected with a lesser divinity, Enyo, and believes that both Enyo and Enyalios may be pre-Greek/Cretan divinities. Enyo occurs in Homer's *Iliad* at 5.333, where she is likened to Athena, and at 5.592 as the companion of Ares, suggesting her role as a warrior goddess.

later Greek religion as an epithet of another god, in this case Apollo.[415] Finally, the term *e-ri-nu* deserves some mention. It is generally accepted as /*Erinus*/, comparable to the Greek Ἔρινυς. In later Greek religion, the Erinyes are "the Furies," though here the word is in the singular. Though *e-ri-nu* has been erased, this tablet at the very least attests to the existence of this theonym at the time the *RCT* texts were written.[416]

G. Interpretation of the Textual Evidence

Based on the tablets from the *RCT*, what can be said about Mycenaean religion at Knossos during Phase I? Admittedly, the fragmentary and controversial nature of these tablets is discouraging and severely limits our ability to interpret their meaning with confidence. The best way to proceed is to compile the more reliable information and base our interpretation primarily on this evidence. Then we can turn to the more tentative evidence to determine how it could possibly add to our knowledge of Mycenaean religion at this phase of the Late Bronze Age. Since the findspot of V 52 is uncertain, the divinities on this tablet are considered separately.

At least three divinities are clearly attested in the *RCT* tablets: *di-we, di-wi-ja* and *pa-ze.* The first two have Indo-European etymologies and may have been brought to

[415] According to Burkert (1985: 145), Paian becomes associated with Apollo in the form of a cult hymn called the paean, "a healing hymn which appeases Apollo's wrath." In Homer's *Iliad* (5.900), Apollo is referred to as Παιήων when he is called upon to heal the wounded Ares.

[416] *e-ri-nu* is also found on KN Fp 1, among other divinities and on the fragmentary KN Fh 390.

Crete by the newly-arrived Greek-speaking Mycenaeans.[417] *di-wi-ja* is interesting from a linguistic standpoint. As mentioned above, it is a feminine form related to the divine name Zeus. However, this divinity should not be associated with the goddess Hera,[418] the sister and consort of Zeus in the historical period. Hera is attested in the Linear B tablets as *e-ra* on PY Tn 316, where she receives a gold cup and a priestess at the sanctuary of Zeus (*di-u-jo*). On the same tablet, *di-u-ja*[419] is worshipped in her own sanctuary (*di-u-ja-jo*).

di-wi-ja is not the only example of a goddess' name etymologically connected to the name of a male divinity. PY Tn 316 also attests to the theonym *po-si-da-e-ja,* the feminine form related to the god Poseidon. Like *di-wi-ja*, this goddess is not worshipped in the sanctuary of Poseidon (*po-si-da-i-jo* recorded on line. 1 of the *verso*); rather her cult place is located in the district of *pa-ki-ja-na.* The phenomenon of female divinities linguistically related to male theonyms seems to be a feature of Mycenaean religion, one that is not common in the historical period.[420] It does, however, find parallels in Eastern religions, such as the god Anu and his consort Antu attested in the epic of Gilgamesh (VI

[417] Palaima (personal communication) suggests these IE divinities could have been introduced during MM III – LH I contact between the mainland and Crete. Though this possibility cannot be ruled out, it seems less likely. Certainly Mycenaeans seems to have co-opted much of Cretan religious iconography during Shaft Grave period, but there is little evidence for Minoan adaption of Mycenaean religious ideas. Admittedly, we know so little about Mycenaean religion during the Early Mycenaean period (LH I-II), that it would be difficult to identify in the archaeological record on Crete evidence for adaption of Mycenaean religious ideas.

[418] Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 125-126.

[419] As mentioned above, *di-u-ja* is a variant of *di-wi-ja.*

[420] There is one instance of the goddess *Diwia* in a Phamphylian inscription (Schwyzer 1923:686, I). The only similar case is the goddess Enyo and the god Enyalios, both of whom appear to be gods of war.

iii 11 ff.)[421] In this case, the gods are connected as husband and wife. It may be possible to posit then that gods' names which are linguistically related to their female consorts reflect an Indo-European tradition, which during the Late Bronze Age was already beginning to die out.

If the *RCT* tablets form an archive that pre-dates the other Linear B tablets, perhaps the presence of Zeus and *di-wi-ja* (without an indication of Zeus' later consort Hera[422]) suggests that these two divinities were still associated with each other in some way. If Anu and Antu can serve as an example, we might postulate that at one time Zeus and *di-wi-ja* were also husband and wife. The later Linear B tablets from Pylos, in which Zeus is paired with Hera in his sanctuary (*di-u-jo*), whereas *di-wi-ja* is worshipped separately in her own sanctuary (*di-u-ja-jo*) may reflect the phasing out *di-wi-ja*'s (and *po-si-da-e-ja*'s) connection to their male counterparts and their importance in the pantheon. Though such a proposal may be attractive, it cannot be proven based on the current evidence.

pa-ze, unlike *di-we* and *di-wi-ja*, defies a secure Greek interpretation. As mentioned above, *pa-ze* is a variant spelling of *pa-de.* In Chapter 5, I discuss in detail the linguistics of *pa-de* and the context of this divinity on other Knossos tablets (Chapter 5, Section II.E). Based on this analysis, I conclude that *pa-de* seems to be a Minoan

[421] I would like to thank Ratko Duev for informing me of this parallel (Duev 2008). Other examples exist, such as Enlil, the pan-Mesopotamian god of air and storms and his wife Ninlil, the Sumerian goddess of air; Allah, mentioned in the Koran, and his bride or consort Allat, a pre-Islamic, Arabian goddess; the Akkadian god Illu and and his wife Illatu; and Attaru and his proto-Semitic wife Attartu, both of whom were fertility gods.

[422] Although a theophoric based on Hera may occur in the *RCT* (Railsback 1997: 17).

divinity.[423] The fact that the name of this god exhibits two different spellings may attest to its non-Greek nature. The form *pa-ze* only occurs in the *RCT*, a chronologically earlier archive, and *pa-de* only occurs in the later tablet deposits, suggesting that the spelling of this name is not static; i.e, it is not a stable Greek word. That is not to say that spelling variations in Linear B are rare; rather they occur with some frequency. However, the *ze,* representing the sound *dje,* retains the palatalization of the consonant, which is a feature of the Minoan language. It may be the case that Mycenaean scribes of the *RCT* chose to be more accurate in rendering this foreign divine name by representing the semi-consonantal glide understood in the sign *ze*. In the later Knossos tablets, however, the spelling, and presumably the pronunciation, was depalatalized as the Greek language evolved and changed to *de.* The fact that *pa-ze* occurs in the earliest Linear B archive at Knossos suggests that this divinity may have been such an important figure in Minoan religion that the first Greek-speaking elites on Crete honored him/her with religious offerings.

In addition to divinities, the *RCT* tablets may attest to four different cult locales. Two of these seem to be identifiable places: *a-mi-ni-so* and *da-pu-ri-to*[. *a-mi-ni-so* refers to the site of Amnisos[424] and is mentioned frequently in the Knossos tablets outside of the *RCT* in both religious and secular contexts. In particular, Amnisos frequently

[423] A conclusion consistent with Risch's initial interpretation of *pa-de/pa-ze* based on its *e* ending (Risch 1987).
[424] Alexiou and Schäfer 1992.

occurs in the KN Fp series[425] where it is always accompanied by the term *pa-si-te-o-i* "to all the gods." This is not the case with *a-mi-ni-so* in the *RCT* where it seems the cult of *pa-ze* was localized. *da-pu-ri-to* represents Λαβυρίνθος. As mentioned above, it is a variant of *da-pu$_2$-ri-to* attested on other Knossos tablets and in each instance it modifies the divinity *po-ti-ni-ja*.[426] Unfortunately, the *RCT* tablet Xd 140 is broken on the right, so whether *da-pu-ri-to* also modifies *po-ti-ni-ja* on this tablet is unknown. However, it does seem that this site was a place of cult in both Phase I and Phase II. The exact location of Λαβυρίνθος is uncertain. Some scholars have suggested that this word refers to the palace at Knossos itself based on the later mythological tradition of the Minotaur housed in a labyrinth under the palace of Minos.[427] However, using later Greek mythology in order to understand the reality of the Bronze Age is dangerous. Rather, *da-pu-ri-to*[should simply be considered a cult place whose precise location is undetermined. The other two cult places attested in the *RCT*, **47-ta-qo* and **47*-[, are hapaxes so unfortunately no further information can be gleaned from them.

It seems then that the Mycenaeans at Knossos worshipped both Indo-European and Minoan divinities during their first phase of palatial administration. In addition, they worshipped these divinities in different places, at least one of which was located outside of the palace proper. The manner in which these divinities were worshipped is unclear. We know in one instance that offerings of HORD were given to Zeus. It is possible that

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[425] Cf. KN Fp 1, 14 and 48. On Fp 14 and 48, the place name is modified by the allative *–de: a-mi-ni-so-de.* See Appendix I.B for tablet transcriptions, including KN Ga 953.
[426] KN Gg 702 and Oa 745.
[427] Pugliese Carratelli 1959: 415; Stella 1965: 229 and n. 9; Hiller 1981. Derived from the Greek *dabrus* > *labrus*.

the mention of tables (*to-pe-za*) on V 280 during the month of *wo-de-wi-jo* and the use of the term *po-ro-de-qo-no* on F 51 which must mean "a preliminary meal" may suggest some type of ritual dining. Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the *RCT* tablets does not allow us to confirm this hypothesis. Table 2 summarizes these results.

Table 4-1: Divinities and Cult Places in the *RCT*

Certain Divinities	**Possible Divinity?**	**Cult Locales**	**Offerings**	**Rituals**
di-we *di-wi-ja* *pa-ze*	*ma-qe/ma-ka???* (though very unlikely)	*a-mi-ni-so* *da-pu-ri-to* **47-ta-qo* **47-*[	HORD	Ritual Dining?

I have included *ma-qe* (formerly *ma-ka*) as a possible divinity in Table 2. Considering the controversy surrounding the term *ma-ka* and its context of tablets from Thebes, it is worth discussing this term in more detail. *ma-ka*, if a theonym, would represent /*Mā Gā*/, meaning "Mother Earth." As Duhoux has shown, however, the reading of this sign sequence on F 51 should in fact be *ma-qe,* which he translates as "and for the Mother (Goddess)."[428] In either case, this term (whether *ma-ka* or *ma-qe*) seems to be referring to some type of earth goddess. For the sake of argument, let us assume that *ma-ka/ma-qe* referred to a "Mother Earth" figure who was indeed a member of the Mycenaean pantheon. In the context of the *RCT*, she would be added to the two other Indo-European divinities honored at Knossos, a conclusion which would not be inconsistent with the evidence already available. However, the idea of "Mother Earth"

[428] Duhoux 2007: 9.

present in the earliest Knossos tablets opens up a vast array of interpretations that I believe can only skew our view of Mycenaean religion at this time and place.

The notion of "Mother Earth" often goes hand-in-hand with the idea of a fertility goddess, responsible for the reproduction of the earth and for the continuation of the cycle of life and death.[429] Little evidence for such a goddess exists in Mycenaean religion, despite attempts to identify a figure of this sort in the archaeological and textual evidence.[430] Since the decipherment of Linear B, scholars have been perturbed that the theonym Demeter, the Greek goddess of grain and fertility, appears nowhere in the tablets and have made many efforts to identify aspects of her cult under the guise of a different name, including *ma-ka*.[431] Such attempts only exemplify a significant problem with the study of Mycenaean religion: the practice of using our knowledge of later Greek religion to formulate, and in many ways dictate, our interpretation of the Bronze Age evidence, which is precisely what Godart *et al*. have done with the new Thebes tablets.[432] For this reason, I strongly caution against over-analyzing the <u>*possible*</u> presence of the theonym *ma-ka/ma-qe,* especially since so many uncertainties are tied to this term. The linguistics of the name are unconfirmed, its connection to any type of female fertility goddess is speculative and its very identification as a theonym is questionable in the tablets in which it appears. At this stage then, there are compelling reasons not to include *ma-ka* in my evaluation of Mycenaean religion.

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[429] As supported by Frazer 1905 and Willetts 1962 to name a few.
[430] van Leuven 1979.
[431] Most recently, Godart refuted by Palaima.
[432] Aravantinos, Godart, and Sacconi 2001.

Turning to the issue of V 52, the theonyms *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja, po-se-da-o-ne, e-nu-wa-ri-jo* and *pa-ja-wo-ne* deserve some discussion.[433] In this case, we are certainly dealing with divinities, as demonstrated above. The question is whether this tablet belongs in the *RCT* or among the later Knossos tablets. Contextually, this tablet is not related to the other religious tablets from the *RCT*, but then again, the *RCT* religious texts do not form a cohesive group, even among those clearly assignable to this findspot. On the other hand, the attestation of *e-ri-nu* (even though it is an erasure) may connect V 52 to the later Knossos tablets where *e-ri-nu* does occur.[434] Unfortunately, the term *e-ri-nu* is the <u>only</u> link between V 52 and any other Knossian text. I have argued that contextually all of the divinities on this tablet conform well to the *RCT*, especially if V 52 is considered among the Sc and Vc series.[435] As mentioned above, the format of V 52 is consistent with the Vc series. Moreover, the Sc and Vc texts record the assignment of chariots, horses and armor to individuals. It is possible that these divinities were among the individuals receiving military equipment, perhaps in some symbolic form. It should be noted that the Vc tablets do <u>not</u> record symbolic offerings, so V 52 would be unique among this series. However, a parallel for a religious offering recorded in an otherwise non-religious series can be found in the Mc series, where an offering to Ares is included among allocations of chariot equipment to various individuals (see Chapter 5, Section II.D5).

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[433] *u-* and *e-ri-nu* also.
[434] Cf. KN Fp 1.
[435] Gulizio, Pluta and Palaima 2001.

Corroborating evidence to support the view that V 52 belongs with the Vc and Sc series may perhaps be seen in Classical Greek religion. If we were to view *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* as "the Potnia of Athens," a Bronze Age divinity who evolves into the well-known Greek goddess Athena, perhaps some of the aspects of this later goddess were present in Bronze Age. Athena plays a significant role as a goddess of war in the Classical period. She is also credited with the invention of the chariot and bridle for the horse.[436] In mythology, Poseidon is the creator of the horse and Athena is the one who bridles it,[437] and as such they are connected in cult with "horsey" epithets.[438] It is possible that the Hippios/Hippia epithets refer to the role that horses play in warfare, that is as the pullers of chariots.

e-nu-wa-ri-jo may also be related to war. In the Classical period, Enyalios is an epithet of the war god Ares and is linguistically connected to a warrior goddess Enyo (attested in Homer), both of which suggest that Enyalios may have had warlike qualities in the Bronze Age.[439] Lastly, *pa-ja-wo-ne*, who is associated with Apollo in the form of a cult hymn called the paean, may also be connected with warfare, in this case the healing

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[436] Paus. 2.4.1 and 8.46-7.

[437] Farnell 1896-1909: 272-273.

[438] Athena Hippia and Poseidon Hippios are worshipped at a common altar at Colonos (Paus. 1.30.4 and 31.6). Athena is also worshipped at Olympia as Hippia, but here she shares an altar with Ares Hippios (Paus. 5.15.6).

[439] Interestingly, Enyalios in the Archaic period seems closely connected to the island of Crete. Of the nine times Enyalios occurs in Homer' *Iliad,* four times he is found in a formula describing Meriones, one of the leaders of the Cretans. Enyalios does not occur at all in Homer's *Odyssey*, suggesting that he has no place outside of a warlike context. Cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.651, 7.166, 8.264, 17.259. These lines appears to be an epic formula, so perhaps too much weight should not be given to the fact that Enyalios occurs so frequently in conjunction with a Cretan leader. However, Ruijgh (1995: 85-88) has demonstrated that this line may be pre-Mycenaean.

of war wounds.[440] In Homer's *Iliad*, Apollo is referred to as Παιήων when he is called upon to heal the wounded Ares.[441] It is possible then that the issue of war connects these four divinities on KN V 52. It may be no accident then that these gods all appear in an archive along with the Sc and Vc tablets, which have military connections specifically associated with horses and chariots.

The problems with such an interpretation are evident. It relies heavily on evidence from periods later than the Bronze Age and it assumes that Bronze Age divinities have the same qualities as their later counterparts. No direct evidence from the Linear B tablets suggests that *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja, po-se-da-o-ne, e-nu-wa-ri-jo,* and *pa-ja-wo-ne* had warlike characteristics, except for their possible connection with the Sc and Vc series, making the argument for their placement in the *RCT* circular. Thus, even though I believe that contextually V 52 fits better with the *RCT* tablets, unfortunately it cannot be proven with a reasonable degree of certainty.

To conclude, *pa-ze*, *di-we,* and *di-wi-ja* are the only divinities securely attested in the *RCT*. Their presence in this archive could be indicative of their importance in Mycenaean religion on Crete. The prominence of *pa-ze/pa-de* in the later Knossos tablets has already been mentioned. Zeus may also have played an important role in the Mycenaean pantheon. Although he is only mentioned on a total of four tablets,[442] Zeus occurs at three different sites where Linear B tablets have been found.[443] The only other

[440] Burkert 1985: 145.
[441] Hom. *Il*. 5.900.
[442] KN Fp 1 and F 51, PY Tn 316 and KH Gg 5.
[443] Knossos, Pylos and Khania. Perhaps four if theophorics/derivatives in Thebes are considered.

divinity that rivals him in this respect is *po-ti-ni-ja*. In addition, his name is used most frequently in Mycenaean personal names which are present at all Mycenaean sites with Linear B documents.[444]

Along with *pa-de* and *di-we,* the goddess *di-wi-ja* was likewise revered during this early Mycenaean phase of religion at Knossos. It is uncertain whether at this time *di-wi-ja* is somehow linked with Zeus, either ritually or mythologically, even though their names are linguistically related. If parallels can be drawn from Mesopotamian religions, it is possible that these divinities, whose names are etymologically derived from the same root, were once consorts. Whether or not *di-we* and *di-wi-ja* were still connected mythologically as husband and wife during the time of the *RCT*, we cannot say. What is certain is that by LH IIIB at the site of Pylos, Zeus is already paired with his Classical consort Hera. With this assessment of the textual evidence for Mycenaean religion at Knossos in Phase I, it is appropriate now to turn to the contemporary archaeological evidence for cult at the site of Knossos.

III. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The archaeological evidence for "Mycenaean" religion at Knossos is even more difficult to assess than the textual data. The Linear B tablets, at the very least, record the dealings of Greek-speaking administrators at Knossos. However, we cannot determine *definitively* if the archaeological remains at Knossos represent the actions of Mycenaeans

[444] Railsback 1997: 60.

or indigenous Cretans or both. In fact, the ethnic make-up of Late Bronze Crete is a controversial topic, especially in the early phases of the Late Minoan period.[445] At one end of the spectrum, Mycenaeans from the Greek mainland took over the site of Knossos, perhaps violently, and may have subjugated the local population. As a result, the changes and modifications made to the palace at Knossos after LM II represent the activities of Mycenaeans. Such views are becoming increasingly less popular among Cretan archaeologists.[446] An opposing scenario would be that Mycenaeans gradually incorporated themselves into the Cretan populace, perhaps through intermarriages with Minoan elites, and obtained political and economic power in Knossos through more peaceful methods.[447] Under such conditions, the occupants of Knossos were a harmonious blend of Minoan and Mycenaean peoples. Some middle ground between these extremes is probably closest to what actually occurred, but unfortunately an authoritative answer cannot be reached using the evidence currently available.

The problems are further complicated by the difficulties in interpreting the remains from the palace at Knossos. The building was in use for a considerable period of time and probably suffered from a number of destructions.[448] The frequent rebuilding of the palace resulted in the removal of evidence needed to identify cult locales during the early phases of Late Bronze Age. Therefore, much of the evidence for religion during Phase I is no longer available to us. In fact, most of the religious artifacts from the palace either date to a later phase of the building or are from Middle Minoan deposits that were left undisturbed by rebuilding efforts. For this reason, we can identify only a few areas of the palace which were clearly used for cult purposes during Phase I. My investigation

[445] D'Agata and Moody 2005.
[446] Preston 2008.
[447] Driessen and Farnoux 1997.
[448] Driessen 1997.

begins by ascertaining, to the best of our abilities, cult locales in the palace at Knossos that were in use at the same time as the *RCT* documents.

The catalogue of cult places on Crete compiled by Gesell serves as starting point.[449] Numerous other buildings in close proximity to the Knossos palace also show evidence for cult during this phase; however, we cannot be certain if these 'shrines' and deposits represent the actions of the new Mycenaeans in the area or of local Cretans. On the other hand, we can be fairly certain that Mycenaeans were occupying the palace at Knossos at least in some capacity during LM II – early LM IIIA1 based on the presence of the *RCT* tablets. Because I am interested in "Mycenaean" religion at Knossos, I limit my examination to the locales within the palace proper that seem to have some religious significance.[450]

Gesell's catalogue provides the architectural and artifactual evidence for various rooms and deposits containing cult paraphernalia and the dates when these areas were in use. Though her work is an outstanding resource for religious cult places on Crete, some drawbacks exist. Most problematic are the locales which were in use for an extended period of time. Not only does the architectural layout of many of these rooms change over time, but problems arise when assigning a date to the moveable finds which are used to interpret the area as religious. For example, the Central Sanctuary Complex in the west wing of the palace was first constructed in the Middle Minoan period and some

[449] Gesell 1985.

[450] Gesell also identifies a number of Neopalatial cult locales in buildings in the immediate vicinity of the Knossos palace (including the Little Palace, the Royal Villa, the Unexplored Mansion, and the South House, among others). However, an examination of the possible cult locales in these building is not included in this dissertation because the extent of the Mycenaean occupation throughout the site of Knossos during the LM II – early LM IIIA1 period is still uncertain. Some scholars believe that the Mycenaean role in the administrative and economic spheres was quite limited (Driessen 1990). Therefore, we cannot know whether the periphery buildings at Knossos reflect the interests of the newly-established Greek population or the local Cretan population.

undisturbed MM religious deposits have been identified. However, most of this area continued to be used well into the LM III period, with some architectural modifications, and some finds are associated with the latest phase. Unfortunately, none of the moveable finds from that location belong to LM II or LM IIIA1 stratigraphic levels. The finds from the earlier and later phases should not be used to determine the ritual (or non-ritual) function of the rooms in the LM II – early LM IIIA1 period. Instead, we must base our religious interpretation of these rooms on architectural remains and permanent installations alone. Naturally, the lack of moveable finds greatly limits our ability to firmly identify cult locales. However, many of the architectural features found in these rooms are consistent with other features from areas where clear evidence for cult exists. These parallels will help to strengthen our interpretation of these areas.

Using Gesell's catalogue, the first step is to determine the phases when each cult locale was in use. For Phase I, I am interested in shrines or deposits that date to LM II – early LM IIIA1. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to obtain such a precise date for the remains. Gesell often dates shrines or religious deposits using more general terminology such as Protopalatial, Neopalatial and Post-palatial. For the site of Knossos, the Neopalatial palatial period includes both the Minoan phases (MM III-LM IB) and the beginning of our Phase I (LM II – early LM IIIA1).[451] Many of the cult locales in use during the Neopalatial period went out of use following the LM IB destruction of the site. These locales will be omitted from my examination. Only the Neopalatial cult locales that either began or continued to be used in the latter half of the Neopalatial period (LM II) will be considered. Therefore, it is necessary to determine if the cult locales

[451] The Neopalatial period, as defined by Platon (1971: 325), ends in LM II and LM III begins the Post-palatial period. However, Gesell believes the palace culture at Knossos continued into LM IIIA1 and therefore considers the Knossian LM II and IIIA1 material as Neopalatial.

designated by Gesell as Neopalatial were in fact used during LM II – early LM IIIA1. Below is a table of all of the cult locales in the palace of Knossos which are assigned to the Neopalatial period, indicating whether or not they were also used during Phase I.

Table 4-2: Neopalatial Cult Places at the Palace at Knossos

Name of Shrine/Deposit	Date Given by Gesell	LM II – early IIIA1 ?
The Central Sanctuary Complex:		
East Pillar Crypt	Neopalatial; Post-palatial[452]	Yes
West Pillar Crypt	Neopalatial; Post-palatial	Yes
Tripartite Shrine	Neopalatial[453]	Yes
Vat Room Deposit	Protopalatial (MM IA)	Rooms were in use, but deposits were not
Temple Repositories	Neopalatial (MM III)	
Stone Vase Deposit	Neopalatial (LM IB)	
The Throne Room Complex	Neopalatial (LM II-IIIA2)	Yes
Room of the Lotus Lamp	Neopalatial; Postpalatial	Uncertain
Southwest Pillar Crypt	Neopalatial	Uncertain
Northwest Lustral Basin	Neopalatial (MM III)	No
Southeast Lustral Basin	Neopalatial (MM III)	No

Gesell identified six different areas of the Palace of Knossos that exhibited evidence for cult use during the Neopalatial period. Of these six, two can be omitted from our discussion, the Northwest and Southeast Lustral Basins, both of which were filled in and ceased to be used after MM III.[454] Whether or not the Room of the Lotus Lamp and the Southwest Pillar Crypt were in use during Phase I is uncertain. The

[452] Gesell states that the East and West Pillar Crypts were used as Crypts (i.e. shrines) in the Neopalatial period, but as storerooms in the Postpalatial.
[453] Gesell mistakenly uses the same description provided for the Pillar Crypts for the Tripartite Shrine. No real evidence exists that it was used as a storeroom in post-palatial period.
[454] Gesell 1985: 90-92.

sources on the Room of the Lotus Lamp are greatly conflicted, due to complicated stratigraphy and differing interpretations.[455] In addition, not enough evidence exists either to date the Southwest Pillar Crypt to Phase I or to exclude its occupation from this period.[456] For these reasons, neither of these cult locales is addressed in this dissertation.

On the other hand, the Central Sanctuary Complex and the Throne Room Complex were both in use between LM II and the beginning of LM IIIA1. Though these complexes have been identified by Gesell as cult locales, it is necessary to re-evaluate the evidence specifically for Phase I. These two complexes continued to be used until the

[455] Evans (1921-1935: I, 136; III, 15-25) identifies several different stratigraphical levels in this area: (1) the Early Keep, dating to the early part of MM I; (2) gypsum floor slabs dating to MM IIA, lying above the Early Keep which continue under later walls suggesting that in MM IIA, the Rooms of Lotus Lamp, Spiral Cornice and Knobbed Pithos was one large chamber; (3) a second gypsum floor of an MM IIB date, which coincides with the later walls above the MM IIA floor and is related to a central block in the middle of the Room of Lotus Lamp, which Evans believed supported a central pillar, probably made of wood. Evans posits that the chamber immediately above this basement room would have housed a single column, as was typical for Minoan-style pillar crypts (1921-1935: III, 18). The latest levels date to a period after MM IIIB and Evans believed that these rooms probably continued to be used until the end of the palace period in LM II, based on similarities with the stratigraphy in the West Magazines. As noted in Chapter 3, the dates used by Evans have been revised considerably since his publications. In particular, many areas of the palace which Evans dated to LM II based on 'Palace Style' jars have been re-dated by Popham (1970: 84) to the early part of LM IIIA2. Woodard (1972: 114-125) has re-examined the rooms in the northwest insula and believes that this area was destroyed by fire either late in LM IIIA1 or early in LM IIIA2, based on evidence of burning on numerous architectural pieces. In addition, he believes that at the time of the destruction, these rooms may have been used as a record office for the production of Linear B tablets, similar to the Archives Complex at Knossos. In either case, the LM II-IIIA1 date of the Room of the Lotus Lamp cannot be securely identified and if it could, it is not possible to sort out whether the room functioned as a pillar crypt, as suggested by Evans, or as an administrative office for Linear B scribes.

[456] The only discussions of the Southwest Pillar Crypt are offered by Evans (1921-1935: IV, 3-5) and Platon (1954: 436). Evans has reconstructed this area with a pillar in the basement level supporting a column on the second story. He believed that this area was a sanctuary crypt, based on a 4 meter deep pit (which he identified as a votive deposit) immediately outside this room. This pit contained an ox figurine, hundreds of small cups 'of the usual offertory type' some of which contained a red pigment which he also referred to as a ritual feature. He dated this deposit to LM IA, based upon a considerable amount of sherds in the same context. Though Evans notes the religious significance of this deposit and uses it to support the ritual interpretation of the Southwest Pillar Crypt, nowhere does he explain its stratigraphic relationship to the room. It is unclear if this pit was in use during the period when the room was functioning as a pillar crypt or if it pre-dates the room itself, and may be serving as some type of foundation deposit, perhaps designating the area as sacred. Unfortunately, neither interpretation can be supported by corroborating evidence.

final destruction of the palace at Knossos (either early in LM IIIA2 or the end of LM IIIB1) and much of the evidence which identifies them as cult locales dates to the final phase of occupation. As noted above, this evidence cannot be used to determine the function of these rooms for Phase I. Therefore, the evidence must be re-examined to determine if in fact a ritual use can be assigned to them. To assess whether these areas were in fact cult locales, the archaeological indicators of cult are applied (see Chapter 1, Section II). It is important to reiterate that no clear "yes" or "no" answer can be given as to whether an area exhibits the necessary criteria for cult use. Rather, degrees of likelihood are provided. Using this methodology, I have analyzed all of the possible cult locales in the palace at Knossos that date to Phase I.

A. The Central Sanctuary Complex

The Central Sanctuary Complex is located in the west wing of the palace just north of the *RCT* (see fig. 4.2). It consists of the East and West Pillar Rooms, the Room of the Column Bases[457] (hereafter referred to as the *RCB*), the so-called Tripartite Shrine, and a number of service rooms including the Room of the Tall Pithos,[458] the Temple Repositories and the Vat Room. This area was first excavated in 1900 by Evans, who identified it as a sanctuary based on numerous ritual objects found primarily in the Temple Repositories. Since his discovery, valiant attempts have been made to decipher its complicated stratigraphy and identify its various phases of use. Driessen, in his study

[457] Also referred to as the Lobby of the Stone Seat.
[458] Also referred to as the Great Pithos Room.

of the archaeological context of the *RCT,* thoroughly examined the remains of the Central Sanctuary Complex and identified five different architectural phases.[459] More recently, the architecture of the Complex was re-studied by Panagiotaki in what can be considered the official publication of the Complex.[460] For the most part, the phases that she has identified coincide with Driessen's, though some discrepancies exist, especially regarding the date of the different phases. Below I briefly outline the first four of Driessen's phases which are particularly pertinent to this discussion and note the differences proposed by Panagiotaki.

Driessen's first architectural phase dates to the First Palace Period (MM IB-MM IIA). The plan follows a rectilinear layout (see fig. 4.3) consisting of the Room of the Column Bases (no. 2) with an entrance from the Central Court, and two rooms to the west which will later become the East and West Pillar Crypts. A large room to the south of the *RCB* was accessed by a series of doorways (no. 1) and three storerooms lie to the west of it (no. 4). Another series of doorways to the north of the *RCB* provided access to the Temple Repositories (no. 3) and two additional rooms to the west. According to Driessen, this complex of rooms was destroyed in MM IIA and underwent a reconstruction beginning in MM III.[461] It should be noted that Panagiotaki believes that this architectural layout primarily belongs to the Second Palace period (MM IIIA-LM IB), not the First (MM IB-IIB). However, she does state that the first extant architecture[462] could date either to the First Palace period or the beginning of the Second Palace period.

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[459] Driessen 1990: 102-116.
[460] Panagiotaki 1999.
[461] Driessen 1990: 104-105.
[462] According to Panagiotaki (1999: 271), the earliest architecture consists of part of gypsum facade wall along east side of Temple Repositories Room and the Room of the Tall Pithos, as well as an associated mosaiko verandah and probably a staircase descending from the Central Court.

During Driessen's second architectural phase (see fig. 4.4), which he dates to MM IIIA-B, the reorganization of this complex of rooms consisted of the creation of the East and West Pillar Crypts, the reorientation of the storerooms (nos. 4-6) to the southwest of the *RCB* (no. 2), and the *RCT* (no. 1) was furnished with most of its walls. The series of doorways to the north of the *RCB* were replaced by a solid wall and a single doorway. Additional walls and corridors were constructed, as evident on his plan.

The context of the Linear B tablets from the *RCT* coincides with his third architectural phase, beginning perhaps as early as LM IA or LM II and continuing until the beginning of LM IIIA1. The layout of the rooms during this period is shown in figure 4.5 and, since this phase marks the first occurrence of Greek-speakers functioning in an administrative capacity at the palace, it is described in greater detail below. This phase ends with a fire destruction, perhaps localized in the area of the West Wing. Panagiotaki does not make a temporal distinction between Driessen's second and third architectural phases and dates this architectural layout to a period following the LM IA destruction.[463]

During Driessen's fourth architectural phase (fig. 4.6) which he dates to LM IIIA1, the *RCT* (no. 1) and the rooms to west of it (nos. 10, 11, 13) were filled with debris from the subsequent destruction and were no longer in use. However, the *RCB* (no. 2), the Pillar Crypts (no. 7) and the rooms to the north (nos. 3-6) continued to be used. This phase will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 5 (Section III.A).

Returning to the third architectural phase, it should be noted that a considerable amount of reconstruction occurs throughout the palace during this period. I attribute these changes to the newly-installed administration, which I believe consisted, at least in part, of Greek-speaking elites. After the devastating destructions in LM IB, which ended

[463] Panagiotaki 1999: 272.

the period of use for all Minoan palaces except Knossos, the opportunity presented itself for Mycenaeans to become involved in Cretan affairs. Again, I do not speculate on *how* or *why* mainland Greeks became a part of the Knossian elite administration, rather it is evident from the *RCT* documents that they are and I believe that their involvement began at the beginning of my Phase I, shortly after the LM IB destructions.

Turning to the archaeological evidence for Phase I, I begin with the East and West Pillar Rooms which conform well to the features of a Pillar Crypt outlined in Chapter 2 (Section II.C1). The East Pillar Room housed a pillar inscribed with thirteen double axes and two stone-lined basins on either side of the pillar. The West Pillar Room contained a bench[464] and a pillar inscribed with seventeen double axes. The *RCB* served as the anteroom, into which two column bases, presumably from the Upper Column Room, seemed to have fallen during the palace's final destruction. Panagiotaki, however, refutes this interpretation[465] and suggests that these column bases may have fallen either from the stylobate of the so-called Tripartite Shrine or from a room directly above the *RCB*. However, considering that a column base was found in association with the pillar crypt in the House of the Chancel Screen,[466] I think that it is reasonable to suggest that these bases likely supported columns above the Pillar Crypts.

Several annexes, including the Vat Room, the Room of the Tall Pithos and the Temple Repositories, lie to the north of the *RCB*. Three deposits containing what have

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[464] The bench was along the eastern wall and has been reconstructed by Platon and Hutchinson, based on a gypsum slab fragment found against the south wall. Panagiotaki notes that an early photograph "shows an untidy mass of stones at the foot of this wall – it is possible that they could be part of the stone core of a bench, or alternatively they could be tumbled wall stones" (1999: 227).

[465] Panagiotaki (1999: 203) states, "it seems odd that the bases should have fallen in the LSS [Lobby of the Stone Seat, a.k.a. the *RCB*] from the centre of the Pillar Crypts and not into the fill of Pillar Crypts themselves."

[466] Evans 1921-1935: II, 393. For an actual reconstruction, see the Southwest Pillar Crypt from the Palace at Knossos (Evans 1921-1935: IV, 3-5).

been interpreted as cult equipment were found in this complex of rooms, all of which date to the Minoan phases of the palace. Though these Minoan deposits are not directly relevant to the identification of this area as a cult locale in LM II – early LM IIIA1, it does help to establish the history of these rooms and to assess whether the function of these rooms changed over time. For this reason, I provide a brief description of their contents. One deposit which appears to be sacrificial in nature was found under the floor in the southwest corner of the East Pillar Room. This deposit contained ashes, animal bones, conical cups, fragments of a stone lamp and MM IA pottery sherds.[467] Another MM IA deposit from the Vat Room contained a faience figurine fragment, obsidian, gold plate, copper, faience beads, faience and shell inlays, clay sealings and pottery.[468] A third deposit, referred to as the Temple Repositories, dates to the MM III period. Here, two deep cists contained an array of luxury and votive objects, most notably three faience 'snake goddesses'.[469] Finally, a deposit dating to LM IA contained numerous stone vases, a variety of rhyta (including a lion's head rhyta), a stone libation table, imported Egyptian alabastra and an imitation triton shell. The architecture of this complex and the finds strongly suggest its use as a cult locale in the first (i.e. Minoan) phases of the Knossos palace beginning in MM IA and continuing until at least LM IA. Therefore, the evidence for cult from these deposits coincides with Driessen's first and second architectural phases (figs 4.3 and 4.4, respectively).

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[467] For the most recent account, see Panagiotaki (1999: 49-50). Though the date of this deposit is debated and range from the Old Palace period (Platon 1954: 433), to MM IB (Hutchinson 1962:165) to MM IIA (Momigliano 1991:168 , a date which Panagiotaki states should now be understood at MM IB).

[468] Panagiotaki 1999: 7-42, whose recent account of the material calls into question the MM IB date of this deposit. She concedes that the majority of the finds belong to the Old Palace Period, but some finds (such as two marble lids and pithos fragment) may suggest a later date.

[469] Other finds include votive robes and belts, plaques depicting wild goats and cows nursing their young, crystal inlays with siver foil, four small square stone libations tables, marble cross, paste cylindrical offering bowls, clay Linear A tablets and 150-160 sealings. For a full account, see Panagiotaki 1999: 71-179.

Also at this time, the layout of the Central Sanctuary Complex provided access to the western magazines via a dog-legged corridor. Scholars have noted the presence of inscribed double axes in the first six magazines and suggested that they served as treasuries or storerooms for the nearby shrines. Hallager posited that the crops were purified as they passed through this sacred area *en route* to the magazines and/or the commodities were brought out from the magazines to the central court for a type of harvest festival.[470] It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to assess whether or not such rituals took place, since they are a reflection of Minoan religious practice. However, access between pillar rooms and nearby magazines which is paralleled in the other palaces on Crete lends some credence to Hallager's theory and helps to explain the architectural relationship between the different areas of the palace. If Hallager's interpretation is correct, it may be significant that access to the magazines from the Central Sanctuary Complex is blocked during Driessen's fourth architectural phase (fig. 4.6), perhaps suggesting a change in the function of these rooms.

During Driessen's third architectural phase (fig. 4.5), to which the *RCT* tablets belong, the architecture of the Central Sanctuary Complex underwent considerable changes. Major renovations were made to the West Wing façade, including the construction of the so-called Tripartite Shrine (see discussion below).[471] A comparison of Driessen's second and third architectural phases (figs. 4.4 and 4.5) demonstrates how the new construction limited access to the *RCB* and by extension to the Pillar Crypts and related rooms. In the second architectural phase (fig. 4.4), the entire wall of the eastern side of the *RCB* lay open to the central court, an arrangement similar to the Pillar Crypt

[470] Hallager 1987: 173-176.

[471] The renovations may have also been connected with a newly constructed "Bastion" to support a staircase and its landing on the *Piano Nobile* (Driessen 1990: 107 and n. 375).

complex at Mallia.[472] The new façade partially blocked the entrance leading into the *RCB* and any view into the Pillar Crypts. In addition, a bench is added to the north wall of the *RCB* and a new doorway to the south provides access to the *RCT*. Furthermore, the level of the central court was raised and a short staircase led down into the *RCB,* a construction which is paralleled in the Throne Room to the north (see below Section III.B). During this phase, the magazines were still accessible from the pillar rooms; it was not until Driessen's fourth architectural phase that these doorways were blocked off (see fig. 4.6). If some religious ritual required the magazines to be accessed via the Central Sanctuary Complex, it may be possible that these rooms were still being used for religious purposes during Phase I (i.e. Driessen's third architectural phase).

Unfortunately, no finds from the East and West Pillar Rooms which might confirm cult use can be firmly dated to Driessen's third architectural phase. However, numerous pithoi which post-date the *RCT* were unearthed. A total of twenty-one pithoi were reported, ten of which were found in the East Pillar Crypt. Presumably, these large storage jars contained olive oil, based on the content of the Linear B tablets found on the floor of the *RCB* which record the comings and goings of olive oil (see Chapter 5, Section II.C). Hallager believes that at the time of the final destruction rooms were being used as a scribal office and storerooms for olive oil.[473] Therefore, at some time between the end of LM IA and LM IIIA2/IIIB, the function of the East and West Pillar Crypts changed.

The question then remains, did the Central Sanctuary Complex cease to be used as a cult locale and become solely an administrative and storage center? If so, when did this

[472] Very similar to the pillar crypt in West Wing of Mallia palace which was open to the Central Court and in line with "altar." Noted by Hallager 1987 who suggest they may have been "Harvest Festival Rooms."
[473] Hallager 1987: 172. The later phase the *RCB* and the Central Sanctuary Complex is addressed in more detail in Chapter 5, Section IIIA.

change occur? As noted above, access to the magazines during Driessen's third architectural phase may suggest a continuation of the ritual activities which were being practiced in his first and second phases. Further evidence for ritual use may be seen in the construction of the so-called Tripartite Shrine (for a discussion of Tripartite Shrines, see Chapter 2, Section II.C3). Evans reconstructed a Tripartite Shrine in the Central Sanctuary Complex which acted as the complex's façade facing the Central Court. His evidence consists of traces of four column bases on the stylobate bordering the court (fig. 4.7).[474] Two column bases were set 40 cm apart and two more, also 40 meters apart, were a bit further south on the stylobate. In between these two sets of bases was a rectangular recess in the wall line, which Evans believed was the central section of the Tripartite Shrine. He reconstructs a single column, behind which would have been the shrine's "cella." No evidence for a column base in this central portion exists. However, the iconographic evidence from the Knossos 'Grandstand' fresco (see Chapter 2, Section II.C3) suggests that the column would have been placed at a higher elevation which could account for the absence of evidence. Evans' reconstruction of the shrine relies heavily on the Knossos 'Grandstand' fresco, which had been unearthed ten years earlier. The main difference between the shrine in the fresco and the actual Tripartite Shrine is the number of columns: the fresco shrine has two columns in the central section and single columns in the wings. This inconsistency should not be cause for alarm since parallels for a single central column can be found on gold ornaments.

The existence of the Tripartite Shrine has been called into question.[475] According to Panagiotaki, the circular forms that Evans interpreted as column bases are difficult to identify as such today. Though the circular features on the northern portion of the

[474] Evans 1921-1935: II, 804.
[475] Panagiotaki 1999: 235-242.

stylobate are fairly clear and regular in form, those to south are barely distinguishable. Moreover, Panagiotaki claims that such markings could have been created by any circular object placed on the stylobate.[476] She also notes that the stylobate could not support the heavy structure presented by Evans because of the lack of proper column bases as would be expected. Lastly, Panagiotaki states that the circular marks are placed too close to each other to carry Minoan-style columns, which taper from top to bottom. As such, it seems that sufficient space would not allow for both the wider diameter of the top of the columns and the column capitals. For these reasons, she believes that Evans' theory for a Tripartite Shrine is undermined. However, she does concede that a lighter structure might have been possible.

Unfortunately, the question that Panagiotaki does not address is, if a Tripartite Shrine did *not* exist in this space, what did? It should be remembered that the entrance to the Central Sanctuary Complex is partially blocked by the construction of whatever this structure might have been. Moreover, the surviving foundations here do not suggest the presence of an actual room of any sort; rather what probably did exist was simply a façade that faced outward onto the central court. With this in mind, it would not be unreasonable to reconstruct something like a Tripartite Shrine. The real problem lies with the lack of archaeological parallels for *actual* Tripartite Shrines. As noted in Chapter 2 (see Section II.C3), the evidence for Tripartite Shrines is primarily iconographic. Only two possible *architectural* examples exist: one at Vathypetro[477] (the existence of which has been called into question)[478] and this one at Knossos, which as we have seen is also questionable. Without any firm architectural parallels, it is difficult, if

[476] As a parallel, Panagiotaki cites a pithos base found on the floor of the *RCB* that left a spot resembling a column base (1999: 237)
[477] Marinatos 1951: 259; 1952: 604-605 and fig. 19; published in detail by Shaw 1978: 442 and n. 26.
[478] Mylonas (1966: 146); Rutkowski 1986: 53-54.

not impossible, to determine the validity of Evan's reconstruction of this type of shrine at Knossos.

What perhaps should be questioned is the very lack of the architectural examples of Tripartite Shrines in the archaeological record, especially given the prominence of such shrines in Minoan and Mycenaean iconography. The lack of evidence could be attributed to the fact that such shrines were in fact, lighter (perhaps temporary?) structures that were made of ephemeral materials. If this is the case, then the reconstruction of a Tripartite Shrine as the façade of the Central Sanctuary Complex would not be contradictory to the conclusions drawn by Panagiotaki. Of course, I am not suggesting that a Tripartite Shrine *must* have existed in this location, nor am I attempting to undermine the work of Panagiotaki. Rather, Panagiotaki has made a significant contribution by calling into question the very existence of the Knossian Tripartite Shrine, especially since the identification of this shrine is so prevalent in even the most rudimentary literature on Minoan culture. Instead, I think that her conclusions should be taken quite seriously and hopefully will spark a reevaluation of the evidence for and the nature of Minoan Tripartite Shrines. However, until such a study is undertaken, what can be stated at this time and for the purposes of this dissertation, is that it is *possible* that a Minoan-style Tripartite Shrine façade was built in front of the Central Sanctuary Complex by "Mycenaeans" during the earliest phase of their occupation. Given the interpretative problems surrounding this shrine's existence, I think it is best at this point forward to refer to this area using quotation marks ("Tripartite Shrine").

It should be reiterated that the construction of this monumental façade on the West Wing of the palace took place *during* Phase I. If Greek-speaking Mycenaeans were occupying the Palace of Minos at this time, as the *RCT* tablets suggest, and the façade

included a "Tripartite Shrine", it is interesting that they would choose to build a façade reminiscent of a Minoan religious building. Mycenaeans did seem to have an affinity for Tripartite Shrines. Many of the iconographic representations of similar shrines on seal rings were found in Mycenaean contexts, including a gold plaque from the Shaft Graves III and IV at Mycenae,[479] a fresco fragment from the palace at Pylos[480] and a plaque from a tholos tomb at the Kapakli site near Volos dating to LH II.[481] In addition, several sealings depicting a female figure on the top of a mountain with a columnar shrine in the background were found in the area behind the "Tripartite Shrine" at Knossos.[482] These sealings probably fell from an upper storey and date to the last phase of the palace (LM IIIA2-B1), so are not related to the context of the "Tripartite Shrine". However, the sealings do belong to a period when Mycenaeans were in control of the Knossos palace and may have been used as the seal of a Mycenaean administrator.

What then can be said about the function of the Central Sanctuary Complex during Phase I? It seems that the activities taking place in this area of the West Wing may have been both administrative and religious. The *RCT* was being used as an administrative office for the storage of Linear B tablets. Yet, the possible construction of the "Tripartite Shrine" may suggest that some religious activities were taking place nearby. It is uncertain whether the East and West Pillar Rooms still functioned as cult locales. Visibility from the Central Court into these rooms was restricted with the construction of the "Tripartite Shrine". However, easy access to the magazines may suggest a continuity of ritual use. The lack of finds dating to this phase does not allow a

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[479] Catalogued in Karo 1930-1933: 74 (nos. 242-244, pl. 18) and 46 (no. 26) dating to LH I.
[480] Lang 1969: 139, no. 8 A 3. Immerwahr (1990: 113 and fig. 35c) believes that this fresco fragment predates the construction of the 13th c. B.C. palace based on style and its findspot as part of wall fill.
[481] Kourouniotis 1906: 223-224 and pl. 14.
[482] Evans 1921-1935: II, 804, 808 and fig. 528.

more definitive answer. Moreover, the *RCB* is furnished with a bench along its northern wall during this phase. It is possible then that during this phase the *RCB* began functioning as a bench sanctuary. Unfortunately, no moveable finds dating to this phase can attest to the ritual use of this bench so identifying the *RCB* as a bench sanctuary based solely on this feature is untenable.

Admittedly, the lack of secondary indicators, which would normally aid in the interpretation of these rooms, creates serious problems with identifying how these rooms were used during Phase I. Based on the evidence available, I would posit the following conclusions. The architecture of the East and West Pillar Crypts and their easy access to the West Magazines remains the same between Driessen's second and third architectural phases. For this reason, it is reasonable to suggest that, if these rooms were used for religious purposes during the purely Minoan phases of occupation, this function may have continued during the first phase of Mycenaean control over the palace. The *RCT,* however, can be easily understood as primarily administrative space used for the storage and perhaps manufacture of the earliest Knossian Linear B tablets. More difficult to pin down is the *RCB,* which undergoes extensive architectural changes. A bench is added along the north wall and access from the Central Court is limited by the newly built "Tripartite Shrine" and the short staircase descending down into the complex. None of these changes provide us with a strong indication that this room was used for religious activities during Phase I, except of course the "Tripartite Shrine" which is fraught with its own interpretative problems. Thus, the function of the Central Sanctuary Complex during Phase I (i.e Driessens third architectural phase) seems to be transitional, a conclusion which is consistent with Driessen's analysis of the LM II – early IIIA1 phase.

Since the Central Sanctuary Complex has a long history of use and its function seems to have changed over time, it is necessary to evaluate the evidence for these phases separately. Consequently, the Indicators of Cult outlined in Chapter 1 are applied to each individual period to determine if the area functioned in a ritual capacity during that phase. Appendix II.A contains a summary of the architectural features of the Central Sanctuary Complex and the recovered artifacts,[483] and an analysis of its religious interpretation. For Phase I, I believe that it is **POSSIBLE** that the Central Sanctuary Complex was being used as a cult locale.

B. The Throne Room Complex

The Throne Room Complex is perhaps the most well-known group of rooms in the Knossos palace. It consists of an anteroom, the Throne Room containing a Minoan-style Lustral Basin (discussed in Chapter 2, Section II.C2) and the so-called "Inner Shrine" (see fig. 4.8). In addition, a number of service rooms were located behind the complex itself. Most of the moveable finds from this complex were deposited during the final destruction of the palace in LH III, though some stylistically date to earlier phases. In addition, most of the finds seem to have fallen from the upper storey, often referred to as the Loggia. A staircase just north of the Anteroom provided direct access to the rooms on the upper floor; however, it is uncertain if the Loggia was also used for ritual purposes. The wealth of the finds which fell from above suggests that a treasure deposit, similar to the Temple Repositories and the Vat Room deposits found in the Central Sanctuary Complex, was stored in the Loggia.[484] Unfortunately, these finds cannot be

[483] Based primarily on Gesell 1985, with some modifications.
[484] Gesell 1985: 21.

used to determine whether the Throne Room Complex was used for religious ceremonies during Phase I; instead, we must rely on architecture and parallels.

Exactly when this complex of rooms was first constructed has been a matter of debate. Evans was the first to note that the Throne Room Complex was a "revolutionary intrusion, effacing all previous remains."[485] That is, whatever existed in this area of the West Wing was completely obliterated and replaced by the construction of the Throne Room. Evans originally dated the construction of this complex to the LM II period based on pottery from test pits dug in the area of the Anteroom. Popham re-examined the pottery from these tests to provide more accurate dates.[486] In particular, he addressed the material from three tests taken in the area of the Antechamber, all of which contained at least one sherd dating to LM III. However, some confusion exists concerning the location of these tests pits and the material found in them. The finds from two tests, 59 and 60, were mixed together, even though they were from two different areas: test 59 was located under the threshold leading from the Central Court into the Anteroom and test 60 was from beneath a slab of the Central Court. The third test came from the area between the Anteroom and Throne Room and, among other finds, contained a single LM III kylix. Unfortunately, no record of this test was found in the excavation notebooks, and therefore cannot be confirmed.[487]

In an effort to clarify the issue, Overbeck and McDonald examined the evidence from these tests once more and noted the problems with determining the date of the Throne Room based on these questionable deposits. Instead, they brought to light more

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[485] Evans 1921-1935: IV, 902-942. Immerwahr (1990: 97), however, states that the rounded northeast corner of the complex preserved an earlier insula, and that "it has recently been suggested that the layout of the rooms and the cult practiced there go back to the Old Palace Period".

[486] Popham 1970: 55-56. Palmer (1969) used the evidence from these test pits to support his theory that the palace of Knossos was completely rebuilt by the Mycenaeans in LM III.

[487] Overbeck and McDonald 1976: 156.

definitive evidence for the date of the Throne Room Complex. In 1925, Mackenzie had made a second series of tests in the southwest corner of the Anteroom. The location of these tests and the material recovered from them were carefully recorded and the results clearly indicate that no pottery later than LM IB was found under the floor of the Anteroom.[488] The research of Overbeck and McDonald, therefore, seemed to confirm Evan's theory that the Throne Room Complex was a revolutionary intrusion, built some time either during or after LM IB.

More recently, a thorough investigation of the Throne Room Complex by Mirié has shown that in fact these rooms had a long history dating back to the Old Palace Period.[489] Mirié's interpretation of the area relies on the stratigraphical relationship between the magazines and cists located to the south of the Throne Room. These cists were situated under the monumental stairway, which lead to the rooms above the Throne Room Complex. Based on the fact that floor level of these magazines is the same as that of the rooms of the Throne Room Complex, Mirié concludes that these rooms must have been originally constructed at the same time; that is, the original floors of this complex date to MM II.[490]

Using this as a starting point, Mirié defines four separate building phases for the Throne Room Complex.[491] The first phase probably dates to MM II and witnesses the

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[488] Overbeck and McDonald 1976: 157.

[489] Mirié 1979. Her analysis of the evidenced includes a comparison of the preliminary reports made by Evans to his final publication of the site in *Palace of Minos,* as well as an examination of the unpublished reports made by Evans in his Notebooks, by Mackenzie in his Daybooks and by the architect Fyfe in his Measuring Books.

[490] Based on Kamares ware sherds that were underneath this floor level and supported by the use of *mosaico* flooring and masons marks typical of MM II. Her interpretation also conforms well to our understanding of the various pavements of the Central Court, three of which that occurred between MM II and LM IIIA. Most notably, the first pavement is at the same level as the floor of the Throne Room Complex.

[491] For a concise summary of these phases, see Neimeier 1987: 163 and Hägg 1982: 78.

construction of the Lustral Basin, what will later become the Throne Room, the so-called Inner Shrine, the service rooms and three magazines to the south of the Lustral Basin (see fig. 4.9).[492] In the Neopalatial period, major changes took place including the addition of the Anteroom, as well as stone benches in the Throne Room and the Anteroom and the throne itself. Mirié also suggests that the Griffin fresco was painted during this period. Mirié's third phase corresponds to my Phase I; at this time, the Central Court was raised and two steps leading down to the Anteroom were added.[493] During her last phase, which corresponds my Phase II, additional stairs were added to the Anteroom to account for the last paving of the Central Court in LM IIIA2.[494]

Driessen noted considerable architectural similarities between the Throne Room Complex and the Central Sanctuary Complex. Of particular importance are the floor levels of these rooms with respect to the height of the Central Court. Both the Anteroom to the Throne Room and the *RCB* which serves as the anteroom to the Central Sanctuary Complex are at a lower level and are accessed by a few steps down from the Central Court. Considering these similarities, it is likely that the construction of these rooms coincide with the construction of the monumental west façade of the Central Court in Phase I. During this reconstruction, the level of the Central Court was raised substantially which required the construction of short stairways to access both of these complexes. Therefore, Mirié's third phase of the Throne Room Complex coincides with Driessen's third architectural phase and is contemporary with the *RCT* tablets. Since the Throne Room Complex was in use during Phase I, it is necessary to evaluate the evidence

[492] Mirié 1979: 39-44; Hägg 1982: 78. During this phase no anteroom, throne nor benches were present.
[493] Mirié 1979: 56ff; Hägg 1982: 78.
[494] Mirié 1979: 56; Hägg 1982: 78; Popham 1970: 55. Popham discusses LM IIIA2 pottery from below the last paving of the Central Court.

from these rooms to determine if the complex functioned as a cult locale during this phase.

The Anteroom was accessed from the Central Court via pier-and-door partitions. Gesell categorized this room as a Bench Sanctuary because it contained three separate benches. A long gypsum bench was located along the south wall of the room. On the opposite wall, two shorter benches were unearthed. Between them were the remains of carbonized wood which led Evans to postulate that a wooden throne once stood in this void.[495] The floors of the anteroom were made of plastered gypsum and ironstone. A purple stone basin, which currently has been restored in the middle of the Anteroom floor, was actually found in the corridor just to the north. Fresco fragments from the south wall show traces of a bull's foot above a marble-like band. Unfortunately, no moveable finds were recorded.

The Throne Room itself could also be described as a Bench Sanctuary since it contained four gypsum benches:[496] two along the north wall flanking a central gypsum throne; one along the northern portion of the west wall; and a fourth along the parapet which separates the main portion of the Throne Room from the Lustral Basin in the southern half of the room. The Lustral Basin is one of the more elaborate examples of this shrine type. It consists of an L-shaped staircase leading down to a gypsum-lined basin. The parapet separating the basin from the Throne Room proper had three Minoan-style columns. Mirié believes that the Lustral Basin, in the later phases of the complex, would have been filled in when the rooms were no longer being used for cultic purposes. Hägg, however, rightly refutes this hypothesis stating that "there is no evidence for

[495] Evans 1921-1935: IV, 905: not an unreasonable reconstruction since a throne along the north wall of the Anteroom would mimic the arrangement of the adjoining Throne Room.
[496] For a discussion of Bench Sanctuaries, see Chapter 2, Section II.A4.

whatsoever for either a floor or a pavement on top of the 'basin' or a wall screening it off from the throne area."[497] It is true that some Lustral Basins were filled in during the Mycenaean phases of occupation at Knossos,[498] and that no other Lustral Basins on Crete were in use subsequent to the LM IB destructions that took place throughout the island.[499] However, since no evidence for the filling in or abandonment of the Throne Room Lustral Basin exists, and since the other rooms in this complex continued to be used after LM II, it is reasonable to suspect that it was still in use during this period. If this is case, it is particularly interesting that the Throne Room Lustral Basin is the only basin that was in use at this time and it belongs well within in the period when Mycenaeans were functioning in an administrative capacity in the Palace of Minos. In fact, as I will argue later, I believe that the continued use of the Lustral Basin in early phases of the Late Bronze Age was an intentional act on the part of the newly-installed Mycenaean administrators.

The Throne Room itself is elaborately decorated with fresco paintings (see fig 4.10). Flanking the throne are two antithetical griffins against a red background; a third griffin was painted on the west wall that faces the doorway leading into the so-called Inner Shrine.[500] The placement of the third griffin led Evans to suggest that additional rites, presumably hidden ones, took place in these service rooms.[501] Griffins are half-feline, half-bird creatures, placing this scene in the realm of the supernatural. In Aegean

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[497] Hägg 1982: 79.

[498] For example, the doors of the Lustral Basin in the Little Palace at Knossos were permanently filled in at the end of LM I or beginning of LM II and in LM IIIB the basin was filled in and turned into a bench sanctuary (Gesell 1985: 24; Hatzaki 2005).

[499] Gesell 1985: 32.

[500] In actuality, the only evidence for antithetical griffins is the discovery of a fresco depicting a griffin paw from the right side of the throne which was confirmed by Cameron (1970: 163). However, antithetical griffins on seals are so common that most scholars support this reconstruction. The griffin flanking the west door seems certain (Immerwahr 1990: 97 and n. 33).

[501] Evans 1921-1935: IV, 920.

iconography, griffins are often the companions of divinities and seem to serve as an emblem of otherworldliness. The most well-known example can be found at Akrotiri on the island of Thera. A fresco from Xeste 3 depicts an elaborately dressed woman, seated on a tripartite platform, who is being approached by a blue monkey. Behind her, a griffin, which is tied to a rope, places its front legs on the stepped platform.[502] Numerous other parallels can be found on seals and signet rings, such as on a gemstone from the Cave at Psychro where a female figure, probably a goddess, is flanked by two griffins.[503] Other fresco details from the Throne Room include an ivory wavy band running horizontally across the length of the walls and schematic representations of incurving altar bases located in the spaces between the throne and the neighboring benches (see Chapter 2, Section II.B). Such altars, though typical of Minoan religious iconography, were also incorporated into Mycenaean contexts.[504]

As noted above, the Griffin fresco may have been painted as early as the Neopalatial period.[505] However, most scholars agree that stylistically this painting probably belongs to the LM II-IIIA period.[506] The fresco friezes from the Throne Room and its Anteroom seem to be part of a larger decorative program that coincided with the reconstructions made to the palace following the LM II destruction. Many of the frescoes are believed to depict certain religious rites or are in some way connected to or representative of cult practices during this phase of the palace's history. Since these paintings can shed some light on Mycenaean religion at Knossos during Phase I, they are addressed together in more detail at the end of this chapter (see Section III.C).

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[502] Doumas 1992: 130-131 and figs. 122 and 125-128 dating to LM IB.
[503] Nilsson 1950: 361, fig. 173. For a list of griffin iconography, see Nilsson 1950: 368, n. 96.
[504] Evans 1921-1935: IV, 919-920. Cf. Lion Gate at Mycenae which has an incurving altar base below the central column.
[505] As suggested by Mirié 1979.
[506] Kaiser 1976; Hood 1978; Immerwahr 1990: 96-98; Hood 2006.

Along the west wall of the Throne Room and behind the Lustral Basin was a storage area for several stone alabastra.[507] Only one alabastron was found in its place and others were strewn in the northeastern section of the Throne Room near a large pithos. These alabastra date to the final destruction of the Throne Room either in LM IIIA2 or IIIB1; therefore, they cannot be used as evidence to interpret the function of the LM II/IIIA1 Throne Room. Instead, these vessels are address in more detail in Chapter 5 (see Section III.B).

Several subsidiary rooms are located to the west and north of the Throne Room that make up the remainder of the insula.[508] These rooms probably served as service and/or storage rooms associated with the Throne Room and the rites that were likely to have occurred there. The room immediately to the west may have served some ritual function. It was termed the 'Inner Shrine' by Evans because a small ledge (which he called an altar) was located on its western wall, immediately opposite the doorway leading to the Throne Room.[509] On this ledge, a silver bracelet and some gold foil were unearthed. If this ledge did serve as some type of altar, the bracelet and the gold foil remnants may be interpreted as votive offerings. These 'offerings' date to the final destruction of the Throne Room Complex and cannot be used as direct evidence for cult in Phase I. However, the placement of this ledge immediately opposite the door to the Throne Room may be significant. Cult objects could have been placed on this ledge and, when the door to the Throne Room was opened, would have been revealed to the people in the neighboring room. That one of the griffins points toward this door may support such an interpretation, though it cannot be confirmed.

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[507] The exact number of alabastra is uncertain, since different scholars provide differing accounts. For a fuller discussion, see Chapter 5, Section III.A.
[508] Evans 1921-1935: IV, 924-927.
[509] Evans 1921-1935: IV, 910, 920.

What then can be said about the function of the Throne Room Complex during Phase I. As with the Central Sanctuary Complex, the Throne Room and its ancillary rooms were built during the Minoan phases of the Knossos palace and continued to be used during the 'Mycenaean' period. For this reason, it is useful to examine the function of these rooms during these earlier phases to see if some continuity of function exists.

Reusch was the first to suggest that the Throne Room Complex during its Minoan phases was a place for the epiphany of the goddess.[510] Her interpretation is based primarily upon the iconography of the Throne Room. The griffins flanking the throne imply that the person who would be seated here was somehow connected to the supernatural.[511] Moreover, the two incurving altars painted on the wall on either side of the throne are also suggestive of the religious function of this seat. Neimeier, however, notes that one important aspect of epiphany is missing from Reusch's reconstruction, namely the sudden emergence of the goddess.[512] He suggests that a priestess acting in the guise of a goddess would first appear in the doorway of the Inner Shrine and emerge into the Throne Room before taking her rightful place upon the throne. His justification is the placement of the third griffin facing the door to the Inner Shrine. Since Mirié's reevaluation of the Throne Room Complex, definitively placing it within the phases of Minoan occupation, many Minoan scholars have supported this interpretation of the Throne Room Complex.[513]

Determining whether or not such rituals took place is beyond the scope of this dissertation, since epiphanies are more of a reflection of Minoan, rather than Mycenaean,

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[510] Reusch 1958.
[511] Reusch 1958: 345-357. In particular, she compares this composition to heraldic griffins in sealing iconography. See also Nilsson 1950: 360-363.
[512] Neimeier 1987: 165.
[513] E.g. Hägg 1983, Marinatos 1993, Gesell 1985.

religious practice. However, it is significant that the layout of the Throne Room Complex did not change substantially between the Minoan and Mycenaean phases. Does the continuity of plan suggest continuity of ritual? Though it is possible that the Greek-speaking administrators of Knossos continued to perform the rituals of the Minoans (especially if the population of Knossos at this time consisted of a blend of Minoans and Mycenaeans), little evidence can definitively support such a claim. At the very least, the occupants of the palace during Phase I wanted to give the appearance of continuity of function by maintaining the original layout of this complex.

Applying the Indicators of Cult to the Throne Room, numerous special facilities for ritual purposes can be identified. The benches in both the Anteroom and the Throne Room could have been used for the display of ritual offerings. The Lustral Basin is likely to have had a religious function (see Chapter 2, Section II.C2). The niche with a ledge in the "Inner Shrine" may have been for the display of ritual offerings. The gypsum throne in the Throne Room and carbonized remains for a throne in the Anteroom can be seen as attention-focusing devices.

The question regarding who actually occupied the thrones in these rooms poses some interpretative problems and is still debated among scholars. Following the examples set by the Throne Rooms found in the mainland Mycenaean megara, many scholars have presumed that these seats of honor would have been reserved for the (presumably male) king/ruler of Knossos. If this were the case, then the Throne Room could have been used for administrative and/or political purposes where the local leader essentially would have "held court."[514] Other scholars suggest that a woman more likely would have occupied the throne, a theory based partly on the shape of the throne itself.[515]

[514] Rutkowski 1972: 219-222.
[515] Niemeier 1987: 167.

If this were the case, it has been posited that the high priestess of Knossos would have overseen religious rites from this vantage point. First, the assumption that either a male ruler or female priestess would have utilized the throne is inherently sexist and based upon our own suppositions about the roles of men and women in ancient societies. Though such assumptions may not necessarily be incorrect, a strong basis for them has not been demonstrated in the archaeological record. Moreover, determining the gender of the individual who would have occupied the throne is far less important than assessing the function of this complex of rooms. In either case, the throne should be understood as an attention focusing device and therefore can be counted as an archaeological indicator of cult.

The griffin fresco could also serve as an attention focusing device as well as an example of repeated symbols. Moreover, the investment of wealth in this entire complex is evident in the gypsum and ironstone flooring, the pier-and-door partitions separating the rooms, and the elaborate Lustral Basin with its colonnaded parapet and gypsum-lined floors. Overall, I believe that the evidence for the ritual use of the Throne Room complex should be considered **STRONG**. Appendix II.B contains a summary of the architectural features of the Throne Room Complex and the recovered artifacts and an analysis of its religious interpretation.

C. The Decorative Program During Phase I

As noted above, the Palace at Knossos underwent considerable architectural changes and modifications following the LM IB destruction. These alterations included a new decorative program that consisted of new gypsum floors and plaster dadoes in the

Long Corridor and the Magazines and new frescoes painted throughout the palace.[516] Unfortunately, the precise dates of the numerous frescoes from the Palace of Minos are often difficult to determine. In ideal circumstances, their dates are based upon the finds from the archaeological deposits in which they were found. Given the problems with the early excavation of the site, the information needed to provide an accurate date is often unclear or unavailable. In some cases, the date of a fresco can only be inferred based on stylistic similarities with frescoes whose dates are more secure. Methodological difficulties arise when frescoes can only be dated stylistically, especially for the LM II – early LM IIIA1 period. Many wall paintings are dated to this period because they seem to exhibit a blend of Minoan and Mycenaean characteristics. If such frescoes are then used to demonstrate that the Phase I period shows an integration of Minoan and Mycenaean religious iconography, the reasoning becomes circular. To minimize such pitfalls, I begin with an examination of the frescoes that can be dated to this phase based on their archaeological context. I then turn to frescoes whose dates are based purely on style and approach this evidence with a greater degree of caution.

A general consensus exists among scholars regarding the Knossos frescoes that date between LM II and the beginning of LM IIIA1.[517] In addition to the Throne Room

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[516] Dreissen 1990: 119, citing Fyfe 1903: 111, fig. 4. Driessen also notes that LM II/IIIA1 bowls containing plaster were found *in situ,* suggesting that the redecoration was still underway during the time of the destruction, see Popham 1970: 52 and pl. 32; Hallager 1977: 2 and Cameron 1974: pl. 152.

[517] Though some scholars may disagree about the specific dates of frescoes within this phase, most place the following frescoes in LM II/IIIA1. Kaiser 1976 provides the following dates for the frescoes in question: LM II early – Procession fresco; LM II – Dancing Girl and 'Taureador' frescoes; LM IIIA 'Campstool,' Throne Room and 'Palanquin'-Chariot frescoes. Immerwahr 1990 suggests these dates: LM II/IIIA1 – Procession, 'Taureador,' Dancing Lady, 'Palanquin'-Chariot, 'Campstool,' and Throne Room frescoes. Hood 2006 offers the following dates: probably LM IB – Dancing Lady fresco; probably LM II

fresco which is described in detail above (see section B), the wall paintings include the Corridor of the Procession, the 'Taureador,' the 'Campstool,' the 'Palanquin'-Chariot, the Dancing Girl and the Shield frescoes.[518] Since these frescoes can be considered part of the same decorative program undertaken while Mycenaeans were present at the palace in an administrative capacity and some of them may contain information about religion during this phase of the palace, each are discussed in some detail below.[519]

1. The Corridor of the Procession Fresco

The Corridor of the Procession fresco is a long continuous painting that begins at the West entrance to the palace and continues along the southern corridor before turning north towards the South Propylaeum (see fig. 4.11). The lower portions of this wall painting were found *in situ* (still attached to the walls of the corridor), providing us with one of the more securely dated frescoes from the Knossos palace. Evans originally dated the fresco to late in LM IA or LM IB, a period when palace was being redecorated.[520] However, a study of the evidence by Hawke Smith has demonstrated that the Corridor of the Procession fresco must post-date the fire destruction that occurred in this area in LM IB.[521] His date is based upon burnt fresco fragments from an earlier deposit that were found under the gypsum paving of the corridor. According to Hood, these earlier

– Procession and Cup-bearer, Griffins from the Throne Room, 'Palanquin'-Charioteer, Shield and 'Taureador' frescos; probably LM IIIA – Bull fresco from Anteroom of Throne Room Complex; probably not before LM IIIA2 – 'Campstool' fresco;

[518] Most scholars also date the 'Captain of the Blacks' fresco to this phase. However, I do not discuss this piece because it was found in the House of the Frescoes, a building to the northwest of the palace proper. For the purposes of this dissertation, I am limiting my evidence set to the palace building alone.

[519] For a full bibliography on the following frescoes, see Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996.

[520] Evans 1921-1935: II, 735-736; IV, 878; Peterson 1981: 39 and n. 44.

[521] Hawke Smith 1976: 70-71: This date is supported by Hood (1978: 65-66) and Cameron (1971: 43).

fragments, which depicted portions of women's dresses, remained on the walls of the corridor until LM IB.[522] Since no evidence exists for a severe fire destruction between MM IIIB and LM IB, these fragments must have been burned during the LM IB conflagration and subsequently buried under the pavement during the reconstruction of this area in LM II.[523] The Corridor of the Procession frescoes belongs to this reconstruction. Due to the fairly firm date of this wall painting, it serves a good starting point to our discussion.

The Corridor of the Procession fresco (fig. 4.12) depicts groups of standing life-sized men and women, some of whom are carrying offerings. For most of the fresco, only the lower parts of the figures are preserved, namely their feet and the bottom of their clothing which allows us to identify the gender of each figure – male feet were painted red, and female feet were colored white. The fresco was divided into three groups by Evans.[524] Group A consists of six males who are grouped closely together and overlapping in pairs. They wear long robes and follow behind a female figure dressed in the traditional Minoan flounced skirt. Group B depicts 11 males wearing kilts, nine of whom are advancing toward a female figure who wears a dress with a patterned lower border. On the other side of this woman, two males – who are facing left, rather than right – are also heading in her direction. That two groups of men are moving toward this female figure seems to place some importance upon her role in this procession. The central position of this woman, combined with her flounced skirt, led Evans to identify this woman as a goddess.[525] However, Peterson has argued (rightly, in my opinion) against this interpretation. She states that a divinity in such a context would more likely

[522] Hood 1973: 113.
[523] Hawke Smith 1976: 71. Hood 2006.
[524] Evans 1921-1935: II, 719ff.
[525] Evans 1921-1935: II, 722-724.

be seated rather than standing.[526] In addition, the location of this female figure in the middle of the fresco would be unusual if she were a goddess; one would expect a divinity as the culminating point of a procession and therefore, it would have been more suitable for a divinity to be the last figure represented.[527] Instead, she believes that figure is more likely a priestess participating in the procession.

Group C includes some of the best-preserved portions of the Procession fresco and consists of three male individuals advancing toward the South Propylaeum. Two of them are preserved up to their chests and the remains of the third include fragments of his kilt, belt and upper arms. All three wear short kilts that are elaborately decorated and one carries a finely-fluted vase with a blue base.[528] It is presumed that the other two men, whose arms are in similar positions, were also carrying vessels, though the containers themselves are not preserved.[529] A fourth male figure is the most well-known of the Procession fresco and is referred to as the 'Cup-bearer.' This fresco had fallen from the western wall of the South Propylaeum and is preserved in two non-joining sections. Unlike the three male figures from Group C, the 'Cupbearer' faces left and heads in the opposite direction. He does, however, wear a kilt and holds a large, conical rhyton which seems to be made of silver with gold inlay.[530] The rhyton is a vessel used primarily for cult purposes (See Chapter II, Section IIB), and provides a strong impetus for interpreting the Procession fresco as religious.

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[526] Peterson 1981: 31-32. Admittedly, her evidence is based primarily on processional iconography found on seals and signet rings which are more difficult to interpret than large-scale wall painting given their limited space.
[527] Peterson 1981: 122-123.
[528] Evans 1921-1935: 725.
[529] Peterson 1981: 34.
[530] Peterson 1981: 35. Immerwahr 1990: 88.

The presence of a rhyton is not the only reason why the Corridor of the Procession fresco is believed to have religious significance. The procession itself was probably part of a larger religious ceremony, in which gifts or offerings are brought to a cult locale in honor of a given divinity.[531] The iconography of the procession has a fairly long tradition in Minoan cult imagery. Fresco fragments from the Corridor of the Procession dating to the Minoan phase (MM IIIB – LM IB) suggests a monumental processional scene preceded the LM II – early LM IIIA1 scene described above.[532] Fragments from various other deposits throughout the palace may also depict portions of processional scenes.[533] In addition, smaller processions are often carved on seals and signet rings from the Middle and Late Bronze Age.[534]

What is missing from the Corridor of the Procession fresco is the terminating point of the procession. On seals or signet rings, the offerants usually approach an altar or shrine, or even a seated divinity.[535] Why such an image is absent from the Procession fresco could be due to the accident of preservation. The 'Cup-bearer' may not be the end of the fresco. If this is the case, the termination point, which may have depicted a divinity, shrine or altar, is not preserved. Another possibility is that the procession led to an actual shrine or altar, perhaps on the second story of the palace which was destroyed and/or can no longer be identified. Or it may be the case that the procession scene was so common in religious iconography that the presence of the divine at the end of the line

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[531] Peterson 1981: 119.

[532] Peterson 1981: 27.

[533] Cameron (1978) restores an early procession ascending the Grand Staircase. For other examples, see Peterson, 1981: 27-29.

[534] Discussed by Wedde as a specific, identifiable scene in Aegean glyptic images (1992: 184 and pl. XLV). For other examples of procession scenes on seals and signet rigns, see Niemeier 1989: 164-166 and on a steatite vessel from Knossos, see Nilsson 1950: 183 and fig. 87.

[535] For example, a seal impression from Knossos depicts a seated goddess receiving an offering (Marinatos 1993: 160-163 and fig. 146.) and a similar impression from Haghia Triadha reproduced in Nilsson 1950: 346 and fig. 157.

was understood by anyone viewing the fresco. Despite the absence of evidence, the fact that the 'Cup-bearer' carries a ritual vessel and that early imagery of the procession is common in Minoan religious iconography, it is difficult to argue against the religious significance of this fresco.

Additional support for a religious interpretation of the Corridor of the Procession fresco may be found in later fresco evidence. The processional scene becomes one of the most frequently depicted in the Late Bronze III period, especially on the Greek mainland.[536] Examples have been found at Thebes,[537] Mycenae,[538] Tiryns[539] and Pylos.[540] Interestingly, frescoes from the mainland focus on depicting women rather than men. In fact, the *only* extant mainland fresco to contain male participants comes from the Palace of Nestor at Pylos. Like the Cretan examples, the female participants in these processions wear the typical Minoan garments (tight jackets exposing their breasts and flounced skirts, see Chapter II, Section II.A3) and can carry a variety of objects, including flowers, jewelry, vases, pyxides, and sometimes statuettes or idols. Though the goal of the procession is sometimes unspecified or not preserved, at Pylos the religious context of the procession is fairly clear. According to Lang's reconstruction (see fig. 4.17), male and female figures bearing different types of offerings are processing toward the Throne Room. The human figures are arranged in two different registers, one above the other, and in between the groups of individuals is a large-scale bull, as tall as the entire fresco. The goal of this procession seems to be an architectural structure,

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[536] Immerwahr 1990: 114-121.
[537] Thebes procession scenes discussed by Peterson (1981: 46-58) and published by Reusch 1956.
[538] Mycenae procession scenes discussed by Peterson (1981: 58-68) and published by Lamb 1919-1921; 1921-1923; Rodenwaldt 1921; Reusch 1953.
[539] Tiryns procession scenes discussed by Peterson (1981: 69-77) and published by Rodenwaldt 1912.
[540] Pylos procession scenes discussed by Peterson (1981: 77-86) and published by Lang 1969.

interpreted as a shrine, located on the upper left register.[541] The vestibule fresco can be considered part of a larger decorative program that continued into the Throne Room. Here, individuals seated at tables probably partake in some type of ritual dining, while being entertained by a bard playing the lyre. Another large bull is also depicted along with a lion and griffin which flank the throne on this wall. Many scholars have noted the ritual significance of this program. What is important for our purposes is that it demonstrates continued importance of processions in religious ceremonies.

What is particularly interesting is the popularity of the procession theme among later Mycenaeans, despite the fact that it is clearly rooted in Minoan religion. The Mycenaeans even maintained the typical Minoan dress. The trend among Mycenaeans to depict monumental, life-sized human figures participating in a religious procession began with the Corridor of the Procession fresco. Perhaps the processional theme was somehow appealing or familiar to the newly-installed Mycenaean administrators at Knossos, that they deemed it appropriate enough for their own religious beliefs and practices to incorporate it into the iconography of the new palace.

2. The 'Campstool' Fresco

Fragments of so-called 'Campstool' fresco were found on both sides of the western outside wall of the palace, between Magazines 13-15, suggesting that this wall painting fell from an upper storey.[542] Though the fragments were not *in situ,* they came from a context containing much LM II pottery.[543] Hawke Smith believes that location of

[541] Lang 1969: 38-40.
[542] Evans 1921-1935: II, 605; IV, 396.
[543] Popham 1970: 44-45.

the LM II sherds and fresco fragments on both sides of the western wall suggests that they were swept to one end of the room, closest to the exterior wall, after the LM IIIA1 destruction and should be considered together as destruction debris.[544] More recently, Hood has suggested that this fresco is probably not earlier than LM IIIA2, based on the shape of the two high-stemmed goblets depicted in the fresco, a form which does not become current before mature LM IIIA.[545] Here, we have a clear contradiction in the evidence. The archaeological context of the fresco fragments suggests a fairly secure date between LM II and the beginning of LM IIIA1. Yet, the iconography of the fresco and what we know about pottery styles of the period suggest a later LM IIIA2 date. It should be noted that the goblets depicted in the fresco are presumably made of precious metals; one goblet was painted yellow to represent gold and the other blue to represent silver.[546] Hood, however, is comparing these shapes to the dates of vessels made of clay. It is possible that the high-stemmed goblets were manufactured in phases earlier than LM IIIA2 and the ceramic LM IIIA2 goblets were developed later in an attempt to imitate metal versions. Moreover, if the 'Campstool' fresco dates to LM IIIA2, it would be the *only* fresco produced at the palace at this time. For these reasons, I believe that it is possible that this fresco could belong to the larger decorative program that took place in the palace after the LM IB destruction and include a discussion of it here. It should be remembered, however, that this fresco could also date to Phase II.

The 'Campstool' fresco (fig. 4.13) consists of two or three panels which repeated the same scene.[547] The wall painting is very fragmentary, but the overall scene can be partially reconstructed. Several pairs of individuals, wearing long robes and seated on

[544] Hawke Smith 1976: 74-75.
[545] Hood 2006: 61-62.
[546] Hood 2006: 62.
[547] Cameron 1964.

folding stools, exchange cups in what many scholars have interpreted as a ritual symposium.[548] The seated pairs are placed in two registers (fig. 4.13a), one above the other and contain both male and female participants. One fragment clearly depicts a Mycenaean kylix (fig. 4.13a), while the lower body of another drinking cup may represent a Minoan-style chalice (fig. 4.13g).[549] The most well-known portion of this fresco portrays an elaborately-dressed female referred to as 'La Parisienne' (fig. 4.13e). The scale of this individual is slightly larger than the others and she wears a so-called 'sacral knot' at the base of her neck (see Chapter 2, Section II.A3).

Overall, the 'Campstool' fresco suggests some sort of ritual activity, especially in light of Minoan religious iconography. The long robes worn by the participants are similar to the garments worn by the men in the Corridor of the Procession fresco, though the 'Campstool' fresco garments are more colorfully decorated. In addition, the sacral knot worn by 'La Parisienne' seems to be an ornament typically worn by priestesses, or a women seemingly acting in some religious capacity.[550] A similar blue sacral knot can be found around the neck of a woman on the 'Jewel Fresco' from Knossos.[551] As noted in Chapter 2 (Section II.A3), sacral knots also occur on seal impressions and signet rings, often floating in isolation, or as actual objects made out of ivory or faience.[552]

Folding chairs (fig. 4.13c) of this exact type are depicted on two different clay seal impressions. One impression shows a half-man, half-calf(?) figure seated on a folding chair in an outdoor landscape, as indicated by a tree in the background.[553] A

[548] Evans 1921-1935: IV, 389; Immerwahr 1990: 95, Kontorli-Papadopolou 1996: 45, 138.
[549] Evans 1921-1935: IV, 390.
[550] Immerwahr 1990: 95 and n. 27, who cites Long 1974: 38-39.
[551] Evans 1921-1935: I, 525.
[552] Marinatos 1993: 143 and n. 69-71. For examples on seal impressions and signet rings, see Nilsson 1950: 162-164; for examples on ivory and faience, Evans 1921-1935: I, 431, fig. 309 and Nilsson 1950: 162-163. Nilsson is not convinced that these images are sacral, but rather merely ornamental.
[553] Evans 1921-1935: IV, 387 and fig. 321.

quadruped (perhaps a cow or ram) lies at its feet and another figure approaches from the left. The presence of a half-man, half-animal creature places this scene in the realm of the supernatural. That this figure is being approached by another individual, while an animal lies at its feet, suggests that he is superior to them and worthy of their subservience and/or reverence. In another seal impression, a woman dressed in a flounced skirt sits on a folding chair and, leaning forward, she reaches for a bowl that a male figure is offering to her. Evans interprets this woman as a goddess, who is receiving offerings from a male offerant.[554] The fact that woman is seated and approached by a man to the right is consistent with iconography on other seals and signet rings and does seem to represent a scene of offering.[555] In such cases, it seems appropriate to interpret the female as a divinity, or at least a priestess acting on behalf of the divine.

Like the Corridor of the Procession fresco, the 'Campstool' fresco finds a close parallel at the Palace of Nestor at Pylos. From the wall of the Throne Room, one fragment depicts the lower portion of two men seated at three-legged table. The men wear long robes, like those in the 'Campstool' fresco, and some indication of an hourglass stool remains under the left individual. Another fragment shows part of another three-legged table and a robed man seated to the left. This fresco is part of a larger decorative scene from the northeast wall of the Throne Room consisting of a large heraldic lion and griffin, a stone vase, the shoulder of a bull, and the famous 'Lyre-Player and Bird.'[556] At least three different scales are used to depict these figures: the animals are the largest covering the full height of the fresco; the lyre-player and bird is about half the scale of the animals; the seated men are the smallest, about two-thirds the size of the

[554] Evans 1921-1935: IV, 387.
[555] Wedde 1992: 184.
[556] Lang 1969: 194

lyre-player. Lang believes the lyre-player and the seated men depict 'The Bard at Banquet.' The full reconstruction of this wall painting is shown in fig. 4.18b.

As previously mentioned, the Pylos fresco is part of a larger decorative program from the Palace of Nestor that begins in the vestibule of the palace (Room 5) and depicts a procession of male and female figures carrying offerings to a built structure, perhaps a shrine. The human figures are placed in two registers, like the 'Campstool' fresco, and head toward the Throne Room. The men are dressed in long robes or kilts and the women in flounced skirts. A large-scale bull, the full height of the wall, proceeds along in between the groups of men and women. This scene, together with the fresco from the Throne Room itself, seems to represent a ritual procession in which gifts and animals are being led to a sacred building. It is likely that the procession ends with a banquet and musical entertainment, depicted on the wall of the Throne Room. If this is the case, the seated figures in the 'Campstool' fresco may also be participating in some dining ritual. It seems likely that the iconography used in the 'Campstool' fresco is related to Minoan religious scenes (e.g. stools, sacral knot, garments) and that this religious iconography is repeated in the Pylos Throne Room fresco and combined with a religious procession. Again, I find it interesting that a scene so similar to the 'Campstool' fresco finds such a close parallel in a mainland fresco, perhaps suggesting a Mycenaean affinity toward ritual banqueting scenes.

3. The 'Palanquin'- Chariot Fresco

The 'Palanquin'-Chariot fresco (fig. 4.14) consists of several fragments from what was once considered to be two different fresco compositions. Four fresco fragments

depict a chariot and are published by Alexiou.[557] Cameron joined an additional fragment to this composition that shows the head of a spotted bull following along behind the chariot (fig. 4.14a). [558] Another fragment, apparently from a separate panel, depicts two men dressed in robes standing in front of some type of structure, which both Evans and Cameron believed to be a shrine (4.14b).[559] The remaining fragments are part of the so-called Palanquin fresco which Evans interpreted as elements of a sedan chair with an individual seated on a folding stool inside (fig. 4.14c).[560] Cameron, however, has suggested the elements of the palanquin could actually be sections of the same shrine identified in the fragment with the robed men.[561]

Recent work by British School has established a fairly firm LM II date for the 'Palanquin' fresco.[562] The fragments from the 'Palanquin' portion of this fresco were found under a clay floor in the Room of the Clay Signet, which is located in the central southern portion of the palace.[563] A number of Linear B tablets, which date to either LM IIIA2 or LM IIIB1, were also found in this area of the palace (see Chapter 5, Section II.D3). Based on the stratigraphical evidence, the fresco fragments must be earlier in date than the textual evidence, since the Linear B tablets were found in a stratum above a clay floor which, in turn, overlay the Palanquin fresco fragments.

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[557] Alexiou 1964: 785-804.
[558] Cameron 1967.
[559] Evans 1921-1935: II, 770-771 and fig. 502A; Cameron 1967: 337-340 and fig. 6A.
[560] Evans 1921-1935: II, 770-772, fig. 502B-E and fig. 503.
[561] Cameron 1967: 340.
[562] Momigliano and Hood 1994: 130-132; Hood 2006.
[563] Evans 1921-1935: II, 770-772.

Attempts have also been made to date this fresco based on some of its stylistic features. In particular, the type of dual-bodied chariot is similar to those depicted on Mycenaean kraters dating to the early 14th century.[564] Scholars have also noted that the dual-chariot is the same as those found on the Linear B tablets from Knossos,[565] though it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions from such comparisons. However, most scholars agree that both the archaeological evidence and stylistic parallels point to an LM II/IIIA1 date. It is noteworthy that chariot scenes become common in later Mycenaean wall painting[566] and the 'Palanquin'-Chariot fresco may be the one of the earliest examples of this theme.

What (if anything) can the 'Palanquin'-Chariot fresco tell us about Mycenaean religious practices at Knossos. As noted above, this fresco depicts a man in chariot led by two horses, while a spotted bull, perhaps being lead to a sacrifice, follows closely behind. The presence of this bull has suggested to some scholars that the chariot was being using in a ritual procession, perhaps leading the bull to sacrifice or a bull leaping competition.[567] A non-joining portion of this fragment shows another man seated on a stool. This individual appears to be behind an architectural structure, which was originally interpreted as a sedan chair, but believed by Cameron to be some type of shrine. Given the fact that all of these fragments may have been work of the same painter (or at least the same "school" of painters), Cameron believes that these fragments may

[564] For the dual type chariot, see Crouwell 1981: 63-70; for similarities to chariots in Mycenaean vase painting, see Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982: 14-15 and figs. III.2.
[565] Crouwel 1981: 67-70; Immerwahr 1990: 94-95.
[566] Immerwahr 1990: 92 and 123-125.
[567] Cameron 1967; Hood 1978: 58-59; Immerwahr 1990: 92-95.

have been scenes from related panels – one showing a chariot procession leading a bull to a shrine and a continuation of that scene where a priest is waiting in a shrine to carry out the sacrifice.[568]

Though such an interpretation may be attractive, little evidence can be used to support it. The first problem is that the scene depicted in this fresco (i.e. a chariot procession) may be one of the first of its kind and therefore no contemporary parallels are available to substantiate its religious interpretation. Examples in which chariots are used in seemingly religious settings can only be drawn from later material, such as the side panels of the Hagia Triadha Sarcophagus. Unfortunately, using such examples is methodologically unsound. Another issue is that the 'Palanquin'-Chariot fresco, as it has been reconstructed, could be interpreted as a purely secular scene. The charioteer could be leading a bull to a non-religious building and the man seated in the architectural structure could be a person of political importance, such as a palace administrator or the king himself. In such a case, the bull would not be a sacrificial animal, but perhaps some type of tribute that the individual is paying to the palace or it is being led to bull-leaping competition which, as noted below, does not necessarily have to be connected with cult (see Section III.C5). To be fair, such an interpretation is equally as unfounded as a religious one. What needs to be addressed then are the specific features of this fresco that point to ritual activity.

The stool upon which the man is seated is very similar to the stools depicted on the 'Campstool' fresco (see Section III.C2 above), which does seem to depict some type

[568] Cameron 1967.

of ritual dining. In addition, stools of the same type also occur on seal impressions in scenes which are fairly confidently interpreted as religious.[569] Of course, such stools could, in theory, be used in non-religious scenarios, even though all other depictions of them suggest a ritual context; at the very least their presence on the 'Palanquin'-Chariot fresco supports a religious interpretation, but does not necessarily confirm it.

4. The 'Shield' Fresco

Fragments from the 'Shield' fresco (fig. 4.15) were found in the stairwell of the Demon Seals Area and the fresco has been restored by Evans in the Hall of the Colonnades.[570] It depicts a series of large figure-of-eight shields with a thick band of spirals running horizontally across the center of the wall painting.[571] The fresco fragments were damaged by fire and are believed to have been ruined during the conflagration that destroyed the palace in LM IIIA1.[572] According to Popham, the fragments belong to the context of a "major destruction when Palace-style pottery was in use."[573] Thus, the standard date for this wall painting seems to be fairly firmly set at LM II, a date which nearly all scholars support.

Unfortunately, for our purposes, it is uncertain if the 'Shield' fresco can provide us with information about Mycenaean religion at Knossos. Given that this wall painting depicts a frieze of figure-of-eight shields, a subject more suggestive of war and/or display of military prowess,[574] perhaps it seems odd that it is being discussed in this dissertation.

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[569] See Section III.C2 above for a more detailed description of these impressions.
[570] Evans 1291-1935: III, 301-308 and fig. 196.
[571] The shields were over five feet in height (1.63 m.), according to Immerwahr 1990: 138.
[572] Immerwahr 1990: 177; for illustration of the fire damage, see Rodenwaldt 1976: II, fig. 10.
[573] See Immerwahr 1990:177, citing Popham in Appendix A of Palmer and Boardman 1963: 92.
[574] Marinatos (1986: 52-58) suggests that figure-of-eight shields are more suggestive of the hunt.

However, many scholars believe that some religious significance lies behind this and other frescoes that depict these types of shields. For instance, Kontorli-Papadopoulou includes the 'Shield' fresco in her catalogue of *Aegean Frescoes of a Religious Character*.[575] It is necessary, therefore, to evaluate the reasoning for their religious interpretation.

The Knossos 'Shield' fresco is one of five different wall paintings depicting the figure-of-eight shield. Two were found in the Cult Center at Mycenae, one in the palace at Tiryns and one at the Kadmeia in Thebes. It is perhaps noteworthy that Knossos is the only site outside of the mainland to utilize this subject in a wall painting. The occurrence of this theme in the Mycenae Cult Center contributes heavily to its religious interpretation, especially the example from a plaster tablet that depicts two women flanking a central shield (fig. 4.18).[576] This fragment was first published by Tsountas who believed that the central shield may have had a figure (either a human form or an idol) behind it. Since he states that the head and feet of this figure were missing, his interpretation was based on the appearance of two arms projecting out of the sides of the shield.[577] He also maintains that the figure was so completely covered by the shield and the plaque itself was so heavily damaged that its identification could not be confirmed. Rodenwaldt, who noted that the white arms of the individual indicated a female figure, was the first to assert that the woman behind the shield represented a goddess and provided evidence for a Mycenaean warrior goddess.[578] Despite Tsountas' inability to

[575] Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996: 46, 80-82. At the time, Kontorli-Papadopoulou was publishing frescoes from the Cult Center at Mycenae where a painted plaque depicting a shield was found.
[576] Also discussed in Chapter 2, Section II.C1.
[577] Tsountas 1886: 78.
[578] Rodenwaldt 1912: 129ff.

distinguish the neck and head of this 'goddess,' Nilsson explicitly states that the head and neck are visible above the shield.[579]

Given the contradictory sources, the real question becomes whether or not a female figure was in fact depicted behind the large shield. First, it should be stressed that the rendering of the 'arms' on this plaque is particularly clumsy. One arm projects out of the upper half the shield and is bent upward and to the right, while the other juts out of the top left of the shield. It is difficult to posit why she is depicted in such an awkward position. In addition, Mylonas has examined the tablet and the early drawings of it and admits that he could not find evidence for the existence of such body parts.[580] Despite the lack of evidence, Mylonas believes the traces of the arms, neck and head may have existed at the time of discovery and have since been worn away; he still accepts the interpretation of this figure as a Bronze Age Warrior Goddess. If we examine the other wall paintings depicting figure-of-eight shields, this plaque from Mycenae would be the *only* example in which an individual is depicted behind the shield. Considering the questionable evidence for the head and neck of this individual, and the fact that the arms do not necessarily look like arms as much as they appear to be imperfections caused by the poor preservation of the piece, it is best to disregard the idea that this plaque depicts some type of warrior goddess.

A better interpretation is that the shield stands alone or is hanging from a wall while two women approach and gesture toward it. Exactly why these women are present on this plaque and what their gestures are suggesting is difficult to assess. Is the shield on this tablet some kind of religious emblem which they are honoring? One feature of

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[579] Nilsson 1950: 345.

[580] Mylonas 1966: 156-157, though suggests they may have existed at the time of discovery and have since been worn away.

this fresco that suggests a ritual context is the incurved altar located at the feet of the woman to the right. Such altars are common in both Minoan and Mycenaean religious iconography (see Chapter 2, Section II.B).[581] In addition, this plaque comes from a clearly religious context in the Tsountas House Shrine[582] in the greater area of the Cult Center at Mycenae where many (if not all) of the buildings were used for cult purposes (see Chapter 2, Section II.C1).

What distinguishes the Mycenae plaque from the frescoes depicting figure-of-eight shields is the presence of human beings. All of the other examples consist of fairly simple friezes of two or more shields, usually accompanied by running spiral decoration. The other Mycenae example also comes from Cult Center, specifically the Southwest Building and dates to LH IIIB. Fragments from two different panels were discovered, depicting three fairly complete shields and a few fragments of others.[583] The Tiryns 'Shield' fresco was found in the inner forecourt of the older palace and dates to LH IIIA/B. It is the best preserved, though the shields themselves are the smallest in comparison, about one-fifth lifesize.[584] Lastly, the Theban example comes from the older Kadmeia, belonging to the LM IIIA period, and is the closest in size to the Knossos fresco.[585] Unlike those from Mycenae, the Tiryns and Thebes frescoes were not found in areas specifically designated for cult activities. What needs to be addressed then is

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581 See Chapter 2, Section II.B.

582 The Tsountas House Shrine contained a horseshoe-shaped platform with a circular projection off to the side with a circular hole, believed to be an altar used for libations (Mylonas 1972). The room also contained a bench along one of the walls. A large amount of luxury items, presumably votive offerings, include an ivory wing, a scarab, ornaments of bone, gold, gold foil, and glass paste such as a dark blue glass pendant of Mesopotamian origin, a fragment of a nude female plaque of Mesopotamian origin, and three female figurines.

583 Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996: 65.

584 Rodenwaldt 1976: 34-40; Immerwahr 1990: 139; Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996: 66-67.

585 Reusch 1953a: 16ff; Immerwahr 1990: 139-140; Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996: 72.

whether or not the shields on the other frescoes, including the Knossos example, were understood as cult emblems.

To address this problem, it is worth examining other examples of the figure-of-eight shields outside of fresco depictions. Miniature examples of these shields occur in the archaeological record, but they are most frequently found in tomb contexts on the Greek mainland.[586] Figure-of-eight shields also occur with some frequency on seals, sealings and signet rings. Nilsson has thoroughly evaluated the evidence and most of the occurrences can be explained in purely secular terms.[587] Many are fairly generic scenes of animals, usually lions or bulls, with one or more shields worked into the background. In a few instances, half-man/half-animal creatures appear in context with the shields, which could point to the realm of the supernatural. Of course, these shields could just be suggesting protection from fierce animals and monsters.

A few iconographic examples suggest that the figure-of-eight shield was used as a religious symbol. I begin with examples from Crete. On a sealing in the Herakleion Museum,[588] a man facing right stands in front of a sacred structure, indicated as such by two horns of consecration placed on its roof. Behind the man to the left is a figure-of-eight shield. This sealing is the only Cretan example with clear religious connotations. Other examples from Crete depict shields along with what appear to be some type of garment.[589] A parallel can be found on a gold ring from Vapheio that depicts a tree cult

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[586] Nilsson 1950: 408, n. 47. for example, an ivory shield was found in the fill of Grave Circle A at Mycenae (Schliemann 1878: 124 and fig. 171) and a gold shield was found in the tholos tomb near the palace at Pylos (Blegen 1954: 32 and pl. 9, fig. 14).

[587] Nilsson 1950: 406-410.

[588] Marinatos 1986: 53 and fig. 42. This sealing is now housed in the Herakleion Museum; its date and exact provenience is unknown.

[589] Interpreted as garments by Marinatos who provides examples of sealings from Vorou, Knossos and Arkhanes that depict shields and garments (1986: 56 and figs. 46-48).

scene,[590] with a shield lying on ground near a garment or a cuirass. Though the scene itself seems to be religious, the placement of the shield to the side along with a garment does not necessarily require a religious interpretation. Another example that often suggests shields should be understood as a Minoan religious symbol is on gold ring from Mycenae that depicts a figure-of-eight shield apparently descending from the sky.[591] These last two examples, however, are from Mycenaean contexts and therefore should not be used as evidence for a Minoan cult symbol. Therefore, the only possible example of the shield used in a religious context is the sealing from Crete and those from mainland contexts. For this reason, it is not possible to firmly establish the shield as a religious symbol during this period. Therefore, it is best not to consider the Shield fresco from Knossos as evidence for religion at this time and place. However, it does look to the future significance of this motif as a possible religious emblem in Mycenaean religion on the mainland.

5. The 'Taureador' Frescoes

The well-known 'Taureador' frescoes are also assigned to Phase I, though their date is less secure.[592] Fragments from these frescoes were unearthed in the Court of the Stone Spout in the East Wing of the palace (fig. 4.11) and appear to have fallen from an upper storey in association with a large number of LM II sherds.[593] Unfortunately, this area was not a closed deposit and sherds from earlier and later periods were also present.

[590] Evans 1901: 176 and fig. 52; Nilsson 1950: 275 and fig. 138.
[591] Nilsson 1950: 347 and fig. 158.
[592] For the latest disccussion of the date of these frescoes, see Hood 2006: 79-80.
[593] Evans 1921-1935: III, 210.

Popham believes the later material is intrusive and spread from higher up on the slope.[594] Though his assumption is likely to be correct, the date of the fresco is still called into question. For this reason, this evidence must be used tentatively and only in support of other evidence more securely dated to this period. But first, we must determine if these frescoes do, in fact, depict ritual scenes.

The 'Taureador' frescoes (fig. 4.16) consist of at least three separate panels, all of which seem to depict scenes of bull-leaping. The most well-preserved example portrays a large bull, in a flying leap pose, with a two female acrobats, one in front of the bull grasping its horns and the other behind it with arms raised (fig. 4.16a). A male acrobat is shown in mid-leap with his hands on the back of the bull and his legs bending backward over his head in mid-somersault. Two other panels, which survive only in portions, depict parts of a similar scene (fig. 4.16b-c). One panel preserves a standing female and the other a male with arms extended near the hindlegs of a bull while a female (from a separate, non-joining fragment) grapples with its horns.

Depictions of bull-leaping are a common theme in Minoan iconography (see Chapter 2, Section II.A4) and can be found in a variety of media, including seals and signet rings, ivory carvings, and vases.[595] Exactly where these games took place is a matter of debate,[596] but where they occurred is not as important as the fact that they did and whether or not they represent a religious ritual or a secular event for purely entertainment purposes. Evans and Persson argued for a ritual interpretation of bull leaping scenes,[597] despite ample evidence to support such a claim. Nilsson was one of the first to refute them, noting that "there is nothing in the Minoan monuments to prove

[594] Popham 1970: 40-41. This theory is supported by Hawke Smith 1976: 74.
[595] See Younger 1995 for a catalogue of bull leaping scenes.
[596] Younger 1995: 512-515; Graham 1987: 73-83; Pelon 1982: 45-57.
[597] Evans 1921-1935: IV, 19; Persson 1942: 93.

that it was more than a very popular secular sport."[598] Despite the lack of sufficient evidence, many modern scholars continue to view bull-leaping as a religious act without providing proper reasoning for their viewpoints. Kontorli-Papadopoulou includes all bull-leaping frescoes in her monograph *Aegean Frescoes of a Religious Character*, yet does not provide the criteria for which she has established these frescoes as religious.[599] Instead, she cites the works of Cameron and Groenewegen-Frankfort without commentary or criticism about their conclusions. Younger, on the other hand, broaches the topic more cautiously, noting the possible ritual connection at Knossos, given the importance of the bull in Minoan iconography, but admitting the possibility that the events themselves may be purely secular.[600]

The problem with a religious interpretation stems from the fact that bull leaping scenes have no clear reference to the divine. In this sense, they differ from procession scenes which, under the best circumstances, contain some representation of the divinity or cult location.[601] In bull leaping imagery, no clear indication of place is expressed, despite attempts to situate these performances in the Central Courts of the palaces.[602] One argument which may support bull leaping scenes as ritual performances is that they occur on ritual vessels, such as the Boxer Rhyton and two serpentine rhyta from Knossos.[603] However, I am not certain it is enough to definitively associate these scenes with religious rituals.

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[598] Nilsson 1950: 374 and n. 15.
[599] Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996: 146-147.
[600] Younger 1995.
[601] Though, as noted above, sometimes this portion of the scene is omitted or not preserved.
[602] Younger 1995: 512-515.
[603] For rhyton from Unexplored Mansion, see Popham 1984: 234 and pl. 215.7 and Kaiser 1976: 16-17 and fig. 5; For conical rhyton from Knossos, see Warren 1969: 85 and Kaiser 1976: 31, 166 and fig. 29a.

Though the act of bull-leaping may not be religious in nature, it was a popular theme in Minoan iconography and the bull itself was an important symbol in Minoan religion (see Chapter 2, Section II.A4). Interest in bulls and bull leaping seemed to have resonated in some way with the Mycenaeans. Not only were the 'Taureador' panels created during a period when Mycenaeans were in residence at the palace at Knossos, but bull-leaping imagery occurs in some of the earliest Mycenaean frescoes on the Greek mainland. In the Ramp House deposit from Mycenae, dating to the around the 14th century B.C., several fragments were found depicting bulls and both male and female acrobats.[604] Like the 'Taureador' frescoes, these fragments probably came from two or three separate panels. In addition, an early fresco fragment of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos, also dating to the 14th c. B.C., preserves a male acrobat and part of the hindleg of a white bull.[605] The popularity of this theme on the mainland was short-lived – after the 14th c. B.C., bull leaping scenes are no longer produced. However, their presence in purely Mycenaean contexts during the early stages of the Mycenaean Palatial period, at the very least, demonstrates the appeal that this strongly Minoan subject had on Mycenaeans.

6. The 'Dancing Lady' Fresco

The so-called 'Dancing Lady' fresco came from a heap of fresco debris from the east light area of the Queen's megaron. That this fragment was found out of context makes determining its date a bit more difficult. Most scholars believe that it dates some time between the LM II and IIIA1 periods, though more recently Hood has suggested a

[604] Immerwahr 1990: 110 and pl. XVI.
[605] Lang 1969: 49-50, 77 and pls. 24, 116, and 124c.

date of LM IB.[606] The fragments were heaped on both sides of the lower courses of an MM III wall.[607] The upper courses of this MM III wall had been robbed and used for a new supporting wall which was built after a fire destruction in this area.[608] Because the fresco fragments lie on both sides of the MM III wall, it follows that they were deposited after the wall had been robbed. The difficulties lie with determining when the conflagration in this area occurred and when the supporting wall was constructed. Hawke Smith notes that no material evidence exists for dating the construction of the supporting wall during the so-called 'Reoccupation' period, suggesting that it should belong to a period prior to LM IIIB.[609] Unfortunately, much of the ceramic evidence from this portion of the palace was discarded, preventing us from determining a more secure date.

Despite the archaeological difficulties in determining the date of this fresco, stylistic similarities suggest that it belongs to Phase I. The painting's execution exhibits similarities with the 'Taureador' panels in the fine line detail of the woman's profile, the flowing locks of her hair and the neutral background.[610] Several scholars have noted that the face and hair of the 'Dancing Lady' closely resembles depictions of women on mainland frescoes, especially the women from the procession fresco at Tiryns dating to the 14th century.[611] In addition, the 'Dancing Lady' wears a thin chemise under her jacket. Such a garment was not common among depictions of women in Minoan iconography; instead, parallels can be found on Mycenaean wall paintings, such as the

[606] Hood 1978: 68; Immerwahr 1990: 92; Hood 2006.
[607] Evans 1921-1935: III, 377.
[608] Hawke Smith 1976: 73.
[609] Hawke Smith 1976:72-73.
[610] Immerwahr 1990: 92.
[611] Rodenwaldt 1976: 80-82; Evans 1921-1935: III, 519 and fig. 363; Immerwahr 1990: 92 and fig. 26f and g; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960: 176 and fig. 226 and plate XL.

LH IIIB fresco referred to as 'Mykenaia,' from the Cult Center at Mycenae. The fact that the 'Dancing Lady' exhibits such similarities to mainland Mycenaean frescoes perhaps supports dating this painting to the period of the Mycenaean occupation of Knossos. Such an assumption would rule out a date earlier than LM II. Considering the fragments were found in a heap of discarded frescoes, it also seems unlikely that the fresco belonged to the final phase of Knossos palace (which ended either in LM IIIA2 or LM IIIB1). Therefore, it is possible, if not likely, that the 'Dancing Lady' was painted some time during the LM II or IIIA1.

The 'Dancing Lady' fresco (fig. 4.17) depicts the head and upper body of a woman dressed in a Minoan-style costume: a short-sleeved jacket is clearly preserved and fragments from her lower body provide evidence for a flounced skirt. The locks of her long, dark hair fly in an upward direction, a feature which has lead some scholars to suggest that she is performing some sort of dance.[612] Evans includes this fresco in his discussion of ritual dances and states that the woman is "individually inspired with ecstatic motion."[613] He also notes that her pose and the placement of her arms are similar to the dancers from the miniature fresco of the Sacred Grove and Dance.[614] Few scholars refute Evans' religious interpretation for this fresco.[615]

Despite some consensus that this wall painting depicts a ritual dance, I am not sure that such a claim can cautiously be made. First, the fragmentary nature of the fresco does not allow us to determine *definitively* if the woman is, in fact, dancing. The lower half of her body is not preserved, so the interpretation relies solely on her flailing locks

[612] Evans 1921-1935: III, 369-371.
[613] Evans 1921-1935: III, 70-71.
[614] For Evans' discussion and description of Sacred Grove and Dance fresco, see Evans 1921-1935: III, 65ff.
[615] Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996 includes the 'Dancing Lady' in her catalogue of Aegean frescoes with religious significance.

and the position of her arms. Second, even if it could be established that she is a dancer, nothing in the fresco suggests that the dance is part of a religious festival. That is not to say that dancing did not play a role in some religious festivals. However, no evidence for ritual exists in the surviving fragments of the 'Dancing Lady;' therefore, this fresco should not be used as evidence for Mycenaean religion on Crete during Phase I.

7. Summary of the Phase I Decorative Program

Based on the iconographic evidence from frescoes dating to Phase I, some conclusions can be made regarding the types of rituals that may have taken place at this time in the Palace of Knossos. The Corridor of the Procession fresco suggests that religious processions in which individuals dressed in typical Minoan ritual garb brought offerings to shrines within the palace proper. Some of these processions may have been quite elaborate, as is seen the 'Palanquin'-Chariot fresco. Here, a bull and a chariot are depicted in some type of procession that leads to a shrine where a priest awaits their arrival. It is also possible that ritual drinking may have taken place in the Knossos palace, as suggested by the so-called 'Campstool' fresco, if the wall painting does in fact date to Phase I. The fragments of this fresco show individuals, again dressed in typical Minoan religious attire, seated at tables and holding up drinking cups in some type of toasting gesture. This fresco may support the religious interpretation of KN V 280, which records the use of tables (*to-pe-za)* during the month of *wo-de-wi-jo.* As noted above (Section II.E), it has been suggested that these tables were used for ritual dining purposes, which may have also including drinking rituals.

Unfortunately, the other frescoes dating to Phase I are less informative. It is likely that the sport of bull-leaping took place at this time, but whether this activity was

religious or secular (or both) is indeterminable. It is also difficult to determine if the shield was introduced at this time as a religious emblem. Such an interpretation would be attractive, considering the commonly held belief that Mycenaeans favored depictions of war and the hunt in their iconography. But whether such iconography carried religious significance is more difficult to prove. Lastly, though it is likely that religious rituals at this time included some type of dance or performance, it cannot be determined definitively that the so-called 'Dancing Lady' fresco depicts a woman dancing and, if so, whether she is doing so as part of a religious rite.

What can be said with some certainty is that the new decorative program seems to reflect a continuation of Minoan religious iconography, while at the same time appealing to the tastes and/or interests of the newly-installed regime. Iconographically, things appear the same: women and men wear Minoan-style clothing (flounced skirts, open-bodice jackets, sacral knots, long robes) and carry Minoan ritual vessels (rhyta). However, they perform these rituals for the first time on a monumental scale, as seen on the Corridor of the Procession fresco. Or they engage in drinking rituals not otherwise attested iconographically on Crete, as in the 'Campstool' fresco. I would argue that these elements of the decorative program are influenced by the changing face of the Knossian elite population that included Greek-speaking peoples from the Greek mainland. This argument is supported by the fact that all of these iconographic elements find close parallels on the Greek mainland at a later date, suggesting a Mycenaean affinity for life-size, monumental figures, processional scenes (which often include bulls), and ritual dining scenes.

C. Summary of Archaeological Evidence

Major renovations took place in the palace of Knossos in Phase I, following the LM IB destruction. Of particular importance are the changes made to the area west of the Central Court, which included the repaving of the court itself and elaborations made to the west façade. In addition, a substantial decorative program was undertaken resulting in numerous new fresco paintings throughout the palace dating to this phase. All of these alterations occurred during a period of major change in the cultural make-up of Knossos which attests to the first installment of Greek-speaking elites into the Knossian population.

These transformations include the reworking of two important religious locales: the Central Sanctuary and the Throne Room Complexes. It seems that, in the area of the Central Sanctuary Complex, the changes were not simply cosmetic. These rooms, which during the Minoan periods of occupation seemed to serve purely cultic purposes, functioned at least partly as an important administrative area for the recording and storage of Linear B documents. Whether it maintained a religious function is more questionable due to the absence of moveable finds that would confirm its use. I would argue that its cultic function, so evident in the Minoan phases of occupation, was continued to some degree during the LM II – early IIIA1 period.

My argument is based primarily on architectural features. Some of the West Magazines which were closest to the Central Sanctuary Complex contained inscribed double axes on their lintels, suggesting that they may have been used as storage for religious goods. During Phase I, easy access from these magazines to the East and West

Pillar Crypts was maintained via a dog-legged corridor. If this access was necessary during the Minoan phases for some type of harvest festival in which goods were brought either to or from the stores through the Pillar Crypts, as suggested by Hallager, then perhaps access to these magazines was maintained in order to continue such rituals. This corridor is blocked off during Phase II,[616] thereby restricting access to the magazines from these rooms and ending the architectural and possibly ritual connection between these areas.

The *RCB,* on the other hand, undergoes considerable architectural changes. A bench is added along the north wall which may or may not have been used for ritual purposes. It is worth nothing that bench sanctuaries are the typical form used in Mycenaean sanctuaries and become more prominent at Knossos in the LM III period. Perhaps the construction of this bench represents the inclusion in the Knossos palace of a shrine type that reflects the preferences of the new regime. Access from the Central Court into the *RCB* is limited at this time by the narrowing of the doorway and a short staircase descending down into the complex. It is also possible that some type of "Tripartite Shrine" was constructed as the facade of the Central Sanctuary Complex facing onto the Central Court. Of course, the existence of such a shrine is fraught with its own interpretative problems. However, if such a feature existed (and I believe that it is certainly possible), its construction at this time may represent an intentional act by the Greek-speaking elites to create the appearance of continued religious function.

To the north of the Central Sanctuary Complex, architectural changes were also made to the Throne Room Complex. Few would argue that these rooms were not used for religious purposes in all the phases of its history. Several purely Minoan religious

[616] See Chapter 5, Section III.A.

elements are featured. The Lustral Basin continues to be used during this period, as demonstrated by Hägg. More importantly, it is the *only* Lustral Basin in use at this time. It seems that a conscious effort may have been made by the 'Mycenaean' elites, both to continue the use of this distinctively Minoan shrine type, and at the same time to limit or at least maintain some form of control over the types of rituals that may have been performed in these basins. As a point of comparison, the North Lustral Basin which was located near the Theatral Area of the Knossos Palace went out of use after the LM IB destruction period. Given its accessible location and its nearness both to the Theatral Area and the West Court, the North Lustral Basin may have served the needs of a larger portion of the Cretan population. The Throne Room Lustral Basin, on the other hand, would have probably been used only by palatial elites, since it is located within the depths of the most important ceremonial room in the palace. After the LM IB destruction of the palace, only the Throne Room Lustral Basin continued to be used, suggesting that only those with access to the interior of the palace would have been able to participate in such rituals.

The continuation of Minoan religious elements combined with a view toward mainland tastes and preferences can also be seen in the elaborate decorative program undertaken during this phase. As mentioned above, the religious iconography evident in the Corridor of the Procession, 'Campstool', and 'Palanquin'-Chariot frescoes are almost entirely Minoan, especially with respect to ceremonial clothing and ritual objects. Yet, important variations occur, such as the monumentality of the procession figures, the use of chariots and animals as part of a procession and the depiction of ritual drinking. I believe that these elements should be understood as an attempt on the part of the Greek-speaking Knossian elites to incorporate their own rituals and beliefs into the existing

Minoan system, while at the same time, maintaining the superficial appearance of religious continuity.

Chapter 5: Evidence for Religion at Knossos in Phase II (beginning of LM IIIA1 – end of LM IIIB1)

I. INTRODUCTION

In Phase II, a greater amount and variety of evidence is available for the study of religion at Knossos than in the previous phase. Archaeological evidence from the palace at Knossos provides a clearer picture of the types of shrines and cult objects in use during this period. Moreover, moveable finds datable to the final phase of administration at the palace are available to help determine the function of the possible cult locales. In addition, many Linear B tablets from the palace at Knossos provide important information about the religious interests of the palatial elite. In general terms, Knossian tablets containing religious information are concentrated in only a few findspots and written by a select group of scribes.[617] Typically, they record a variety of offerings made to gods, sanctuaries and religious officials. The most coherent sets of religious tablets are from Room of Clay Chest and the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco.[618] Tablets from the Room of Clay Chest were part of an isolated deposit and seem to contain only religious information. By referring to this findspot as the Room of the Clay Chest, I am following Olivier's terminology, which is used by Shelmerdine in her re-evaluation of the Knossos scribes and responsibilities.[619] This location can also be referred to as the Room of the Clay Larnax or Room of the Clay Bath. The remaining tablets from Knossos which may

[617] Mostly Scribes 103, 138, 139, and 140; others who write 1-3 tablets each are 105, 132, 135?, 141, 202 and 219.
[618] The Gallery of the Jewel Fresco tablets are closely connected to West Magazines based on scribal interconnections.
[619] Olivier 1967; Shelmerdine 1988.

allude to Mycenaean religion are often fragmentary, were found in various parts of the palace, and were not clustered with other religious tablets.

II. TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

With the exception of the tablets from the *RCT,* the remaining tablet deposits at Knossos date to the Mycenaean Palatial period. In the following sections, each deposit is discussed and its evidence for Mycenaean religion is summarized.[620] As noted above, I begin with two tablet deposits (the Room of the Clay Chest and the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco) that contain the bulk of religious tablets from Knossos. The information obtained from these texts allows us to interpret the remaining religious tablets. In my conclusions, I examine separately tablets from Groups A and B, which as noted in Chapter 3 have been identified by Firth as two separate groups of texts which may not belong to the same fire destruction,[621] but the tablets within each group at the very least are contemporaneous with each other.

A. The Room of the Clay Chest

The Room of the Clay Chest is located just off the southwest corner of the Central Court, findspot A on the map of the palace (fig. 4.1). The tablets were found in and

[620] A recent and thorough account of the Linear B tablets containing religious offerings has been undertaken by Weilhartner 2005. Much of my research on the Linear B tablet evidence was written prior to the publication of his monograph and unfortunately I was able to incorporate the meticulous work of Weilhartner here. The opinions and interpretations of the Linear B religious texts in the following sections are my own.

[621] See Chapter 3, Section II for explanation of the Groups A and B and Section III for an outline of my approach based on these tablet groups.

around an oval chest. Though it was originally believed that the tablets fell from an upper storey, Firth has convincingly argued that they were stored in a wooden box that was kept inside the clay chest.[622] Another important find from this room was a bronze statuette of a man wearing a Mycenaean girdle and loincloth, with his right hand raised.[623] This statuette was found on or near a gypsum table.

All of the tablets from this room belong to the Fp(1) or Fs series, with the exception of one Gg tablet (Appendix I.B).[624] The Fp(1) tablets and the Gg tablet are the only surviving documents written by Hand 138.[625] All of the Fs tablets were written by Hand 139. The Fp(1) series is perhaps the most coherent set of 'religious' tablets from the site of Knossos and records offerings of oil.[626] It is clearly religious in nature,[627] as evidenced by the frequent occurrence in these texts of the term *pa-si-te-o-i* meaning "to all the gods." In fact, the interpretation of these tablets as religious rests heavily on the word *pa-si-te-o-i,* which is certainly the clearest indication and appears on nearly all of the tablets of this subset.[628] By analogy with this term, many of the other entries have been interpreted as divinities. At least three theonyms in the Fp series, *a-re, di-we*

[622] Firth (2000-2001: 177-184).
[623] Firth (2000-2001: 178).
[624] Fp 48 is included in this list. This tablet was originally assigned to the *RCT* by the excavators. Olivier (1967: 67, n.1) and Driessen (1988: 126, n. 12) have since demonstrated that the tablet in fact belongs to the Room of Clay Chest, which was excavated on the same day. This reassignment is supported by the content and the scribal hand which are consistent with other tablets from the Room of the Clay Chest. C 33 is also assigned to the Room of the Clay Chest, though its subject matter and scribal hand (both of which are different from the other tablets) suggest that this assignment may have been a mistake by the excavators; it was not unusual for recording errors to occur, especially in the first year of excavation. For this reason, I do not include this tablet in my discussion.
[625] X 453 from Magazine IV may have been written by Hand 138, but this scribal attribution is uncertain.
[626] Early discussions of these tablets by Chadwick 1966 and Baumbach 1979a.
[627] Except for Fp 30 which is not *clearly* religious; however, it is a totaling tablet as indicated by *to-so*-[, so the fact that there is no specific reference to religion is not troublesome.
[628] Except Fp(1) 7 which is broken and Fp(1) 30 which is a totaling tablet.

(modified by *di-ka-ta-jo*) and *e-ri-nu*, are recognizable as divinities known in later Greek religion: Ares, Zeus and Erinys, respectively. However, it should not be assumed that, because they are known in later Greek religion, they must also be divinities in the Bronze Age. Rather, their occurrence on tablets parallel to the indisputable Greek term *pa-si-te-o-i* suggests their divine nature. That they are also divine in the historical period supports this interpretation.

The religious interpretation of this series is further supported by the presence of several month names, often accompanied by *me-no*, meaning "month." For example, on Fp 5, *di-wi-jo-jo* is a month name in the genitive followed by *me-no* and translated "in the month of *di-wi-jo*.[629] Tablets containing month names are always connected to religious events, as demonstrated by Trümpy for the tablets from Pylos.[630] These month names are used to indicate the precise time of the year during which offerings were made to various divinities and religious locales.

To further demonstrate these interpretations, let us take a closer look at Fp 1, the longest and perhaps the most important in this series.

[629] This month name seems to be derived from the name of the divinity Zeus (Aura Jorro 1985 and 1993: I, 179).
[630] Trümpy 1989.

Fp 1	.1	de-u-ki-jo-jo ‘me-no’	In the month of *de-u-ki-jo*
	.2	di-ka-ta-jo / di-we OLE S 1	For Diktaian Zeus 9.6 liters of oil
	.3	da-da-re-jo-de OLE S 2	To the Daidaleion 19.2 liters of oil
	.4	pa-de OLE S 1	(For) *pa-de* 9.6 liters of oil[631]
	.5	pa-si-te-o-i OLE 1	For all the gods 28.8 liters of oil
	.6	qe-ra-si-ja OLE S 1[	For *qe-ra-si-ja* 9.6 liters of oil
	.7	a-mi-ni-so , / pa-si-te-o-i S 1[	At Amnisos, for all the gods 9.6 liters (of oil)
	.8	e-ri-nu , OLE V 3	(For) Erinys 4.8 liters of oil
	.9	**47*-da-de OLE V 1	To **47-da* 1.6 liters of oil
	.10	a-ne-mo, / i-je-re-ja V 4	For the priestess of the winds 6.4 liters (of oil)
	.11	*vacat*	
	.12	to-so OLE 3 S 2 V 2	Total 108.8 liters of oil

\ Fp 1 is a page-shaped tablet containing several entries, and concludes with a total quantity of oil (*to-so* OLE 3 S 2 V 2). It begins with the month name in the genitive (*de-u-ki-jo-jo*), followed by the word for month (*me-no*). The remainder of the tablets lists a variety of oil disbursements. The entries include: (1) theonyms, such as “Diktaian Zeus” (*di-ka-ta-jo / di-we*), “Erinys” (*e-ri-nu*) and “all the gods” (*pa-si-te-o-i*); (2) place names, either in the form a toponym (such as *a-mi-ni-so* – “at Amnisos”) or a cult locale (*da-da-re-jo-de* – “to the Daidaleion” or “the sanctuary of Daedalus”[632]), both of which can sometimes contain the allative suffix *de,* and (3) a religious official, *a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja* (“the priestess of the winds”). Exactly why some offerings are allotted to gods, some to locales and some to human agents is uncertain. It is equally unknown why all three types of entries can occur on the same tablet. If, for example, all of the recipients were priests and/or priestesses, we could imagine the allotments serving as some type of ration or monthly payment (for their services?), rather than a religious offering. Instead, divine

[631] *pa-de* and *e-ri-nu* are actually in the nominative case, not the dative like *di-we.* However, given the context and the parallel position to *di-we*, these theonyms are probably nominative of the rubric, or what Palmer refers to as “neutral” nominatives (1963: 235-236).
[632] Aura Jorro 1985-1993: I, 148-149.

personnel occur in positions parallel to gods and sanctuaries. In such cases, I believe it is safe to assume that the offering is going to the divinity under the care of the human agent. That theonyms and cult locales occur on the same tablets and seem to function in the same capacity is less confusing. When recording the list of offerings, the scribe needed to make a general note indicating where the offering is going; in most cases, either the theonym or the place name was sufficient, though in some instances both are provided (e.g. *a-mi-ni-so / pa-si-te-o-i* on line 7 of Fp 1).[633]

Even though many of the terms, such as the ones mentioned above, are understandable in terms of Greek, some defy any confident Greek interpretation. These include **47-da-de, pa-de,* and *qe-ra-si-ja.*[634] Based on parallels with other entries on this tablet, we can with confidence say that **47-da-de* is a place name; it has the allative suffix *–de* and Melena suggests that Linear B words beginning with the untransliterated sign **47* are Cretan place names.[635] Given the religious nature of this tablet (evidenced by *pa-si-te-o-i* and the month name), it is reasonable to interpret this and other place names as locations of cult.

pa-de and *qe-ra-si-ja,* on the other hand, do not seem to be a place names. As discussed above, *pa-de* is a variant of *pa-ze* attested in the *RCT* (Chapter 4, Section II.A and II.G). The *de* ending on *pa-de* is <u>not</u> the allative attached to place names. Rather, as

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633 Though when necessary, the scribe would provide both the cult locale and the theonym. See Fp 1, line .7 (*a-mi-ni-so / pa-si-te-o-i*) to be distinguished from line .5 (*pa-si-te-o-i* without an indication of place).
634 Some Greek etymologies have been proposed for *qe-ra-si-ja* (the most plausible being *Thērasiā,* which is related to Greek term /*Ther*/ meaning "wild animal", though other possibilities have been suggested). In this chapter, I offer another option based on contextual and linguistic evidence, namely that this term may be referring to a Minoan divinity (see Section IV below).
635 Melena (forthcoming).

Killen has demonstrated, the dative form of this word, *pa-de-i,* is attested on KN Ga 953 as a recipient of offerings, making *de* part of the base of this noun.[636] Therefore, *pa-de*, along with *qe-ra-si-ja,* could be either a theonym or the name or title of a religious official. Given the prominence and contexts of *pa-de* in the Knossos tablets,[637] I believe it is more likely that this is a divine name, and as is discussed below, may be Minoan in origin (Chapter 5, Section II.E). Concerning *qe-ra-si-ja,* though it may seem that this term refers to religious personnel given its apparent adjectival ending *i-ja,* it is argued below that *qe-ra-si-ja* is in fact a theonym (see below and also Chapter 5, Section II.E). It is true that the *i-ja* ending resembles *i-je-re-jo/ja,* meaning "priest/ess." Further support for *i-ja* as an adjectival ending may be found in an apparently masculine form of this word, *qe-ra-si-**jo**,* attested on Fp 16. Here, it is uncertain whether this is a scribal error for *qe-ra-si-**ja*** or an intended masculine form. If the latter, then *qe-ra-si-jo/ja* could be the title of a religious official in the masculine and feminine form, respectively. However, *qe-ra-si-ja* occurs 6 times in the Fp tablets and receives an offering of oil in every month listed in this series, with the exception of *wo-de-wi-jo* on Fp 16; instead *qe-ra-si-jo* is allotted oil. That is, if *qe-ra-si-jo* is not a scribal error, *wo-de-wi-jo* would be the <u>only</u> month that *qe-ra-si-ja* does not receive an oil offering. Moreover, it should be noted that *qe-ra-si-ja* is listed in the immediate vicinity of *pa-si-te-o-i* (either before or after this term) on <u>every</u> tablet that *qe-ra-si-ja* occurs. On Fp 16, *qe-ra-si-**jo*** is also listed

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[636] Killen (forthcoming).

[637] See Chapter 4, Section II.B and II.G. A further discussion on the divine nature of *pa-de* is provided below once all of the Linear B religious tablets from Phase II have been addressed, see Chapter 5, Section II.E

after *pa-si-te-o-i,* perhaps further suggesting that *qe-ra-si-jo* is a scribal error for *qe-ra-si-ja*. It seems likely, then, that *qe-ra-si-jo* was mistakenly written for *qe-ra-si-ja,* especially since scribal errors are not uncommon in the Linear B tablets.[638] Admittedly, it may not be possible to determine <u>*definitively*</u> whether *qe-ra-si-ja*(/*jo*) is a religious title or divine name. However, I demonstrate below reasons why *qe-ra-si-ja* may in fact be a very important Minoan divinity based on linguistic and contextual evidence (see Chapter 5, Section II.E). For these reasons, I am considering *pa-de* and *qe-ra-si-ja* to be theonyms.

Also controversial is the term *si-ja-ma-to*, which occurs on Fp 48. In the context of the Fp series, this term may refer to a divinity since it is a recipient of offerings and does not contain any indication of the place (i.e. allative *de* or followed by another entry for the recipient). However, *si-ja-ma-to* occurs on other tablets from Knossos where its identification as a theonymn is more questionable. These tablets are addressed in more detail below and in my conclusions I provide reasons why *si-ja-ma-to* should be interpreted not only as a divinity, but as a Minoan god. [639]

Using such methods, 10 different divinities in the Fp series can be identified and at least 6 different religious locales. These results are summarized in Table 5-1.

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[638] Though, as Palaima notes (pers. comm.), Scribe 138 does not make many errors and not of this sort. His mistakes include the lack of word divider in *a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja* and possibly lack of *jo* ending on month names. Of course, only about 12 tablets written by Scribe 138 survive, so it is difficult to determine, given the small sample, whether such an error would be typical of this particular scribe.

[639] I intentionally hold off my discussion of the divine nature of *si-ja-ma-to* until all of the attestations of this term in the Knossos tablets are addressed. See below Chapter 5, Sections II.C, D2, D5 and E.

Table 5-1: Divinities and Religious Locales in the Fp(1) series

Divinities[640]		**Locales**	
di-ka-ta-jo di-we	Diktaean Zeus	*a-mi-ni-so*	Amnisos
a-re	Ares	*di-ka-ta*	Dikte
e-ri-nu	Erinys	*da-da-re-jo*	Daidaleion
a-ne-mo (i-je-re-ja)	Priestess of the Winds	**47-ku-to*	
pa-si-te-o-i [641]	All the Gods	**47-da*	
pi-pi-tu-na		*au-ri-mo*	
**56-ti*		*u-ta-no*	
pa-de			
qe-ra-si-ja			
si-ja-ma-to			

Turning to the Fs series (Hand 139), which records a greater variety of offerings, including oil, honey, grains, figs, and wine, we encounter more problems with interpretation. Most of the Fs tablets are either very fragmentary[642] or contain only hapaxes,[643] making them difficult to interpret with certainty. Fs 2 and Fs 4 show the typical content and layout of this series:

Fs 2 .A HORD T 1 *NI* V 3 OLE Z 2
.B sa-na-to-de , FAR V 1 VIN V 1

verso *ME+RI* Z 1

Fs 4 .A HORD T 1 *NI* V 3 FAR V 2 VIN V 2
.B a-ro-do-ro-o, /wa-ḳẹ-ta , HORD T 1 *NI* V 3 OLE V 1

verso *ME+RI* Z 2

640 Only terms whose identifications as divinities and place names are fairly certain (based on context and scholarly consensus) are included in these lists. When possible, translations of the terms are provided.
641 Of course, *pa-si-te-o-i* is collective term, as opposed to a single divinity.
642 Especially, Fs 9, 17, 20, 22, 24, 25, and 29.
643 Or terms that are only attested in the Fs series without any context that would assist in interpretation. These tablets are Fs 2, 3, 4, 11, 19, 21, 23.

A number of commodities are recorded: figs (*NI*), flour (FAR), wine (VIN), oil (OLE), HORD,[644] and honey (*ME+RI*). They are listed in a fairly standardized order: HORD followed by figs always occur first and always on line .A; honey is always recorded on the *verso.*[645] The remaining commodities are listed either on line .A or .B and the order in which they occur is less regular. The most common arrangement is flour first, followed by wine and then oil. In addition, these ideograms are most often written on line .B.

These commodities are preceded by one or two terms on line .B (*sa-na-to-de* on Fs 2 and *a-ro-do-ro-o* and *wa-ḳẹ-ta* on Fs 4).[646] When two words occur, the first is written in majuscule. Most of the words in the Fs series are hapaxes, which limits our ability to determine what these terms are. They probably indicate the place where these commodities are being sent, either in the form of a place name, a personal name or possibly a theonym. On tablets where more than one word occurs, as in Fs 4, one term may represent a place name and the other a personal or divine name. Unfortunately, these words cannot be more specifically identified.

Two tablets in the Fs series contain double entries: Fs 4 records two allotments of both HORD and figs and Fs 11 has two quantities of HORD. In both cases, the additional amounts are listed on line .B. A parallel can be made to F 51 from the *RCT* where a

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644 As noted in Chapter 4, HORD was originally interpreted as the ideogram representing wheat. However, R. Palmer's seminal article has convincingly argued that HORD should in fact represent barley (Palmer 1992). Though I favor her interpretation, HORD is frequently referred to as wheat in scholarly literature. To avoid confusion, I do not translate this ideogram.

645 Though honey is not recorded on all tablets. Of the complete Fs tablets, honey is clearly absent from Fs 3, 12 and 21.

646 On some tablets, this term occurs on line .A, cf. Fs 19, 21, 23and 26.

double quantity of HORD is allotted to Zeus (see Chapter 3). It is difficult to explain these double entries. In the Fs series, HORD is typically allotted in the quantity T 1 and figs normally occur in amount of V 3. Of the intact tablets, only one (Fs 23) records a HORD amount other than T 1 and instead allots HORD T 2 to *ja-pe-re-so.* Fs 8 and 11 lists quantities of figs in the amount of T 1, rather than the usual V 3. Given the regularity with which these amounts occur, it is possible that the quantities represent some form of ration. If this is the case, a double entry could be specifically indicating a double ration, which is somehow different from simply recording a larger allotment. For example, *ja-pe-re-so* may normally receive T 2 of HORD on a monthly or annual basis, whereas *a-ro-do-ro-o wa-ḳẹ-ta,* which would normally be allotted HORD T 1, is being given an additional ration amount, for whatever reason.

Another possible explanation may exist. Both of the tablets recording double entries are among those which contain two words. Line .A could be recording the normal ration being given to the first term, and line .B refers to an amount specifically related to the second word. The fact that the double allotments occur on line .B immediately following the second term supports this interpretation. If this is the case, however, it is difficult to explain why, Fs 3, which does *not* record a double entry, does contains two words (*a-*65-ma-na-ke* in majuscule, followed by *me-na*).[647] Unfortunately, neither of these explanations can be applied to F 51, which records two different amounts of HORD

[647] It should be noted that Fs 3 is not written by Scribe 139 and lacks a scribal assignment. This could account for the inconsistency in format. For a discussion of the term *me-na*, see below Chapter 5, Section II.D1.

(T 1 and T 4 Z 1) following the theonym *di-we*, and the commodities are not preceded by two different terms.

Despite the difficulties in interpreting the Fs series, some positive information can be obtained. In some instances, a place name can be identified by the allative *de,* such as *sa-na-to-de* on Fs 2, *o-ja-de* on Fs 9 and *ki-ri-jo-de* on Fs 26. These may be religious locales, but given the fragmentary nature of the Fs series, such an interpretation is not as firm as for those on the Fp series. Yet, the only two tablets of the Fs series that can be read with some confidence do pertain to the religious interests of the palace. Fs 8 records offerings to *pa-de*, whose interpretation as a theonym has been claimed above and is discussed in Chapter 4, Section II.A and II.G. Fs 32 is a fragmentary tablet and contains only the term *da-da-re*[.[648] Perhaps this can be restored as *da-da-re*[*-jo-de*, also found on Fp 1 where it is interpreted as a religious locale "the Daidaleion" or "the sanctuary of Daedalus." Applying the same method used for the Fp series, the divinity, possible religious locales and offerings listed in Tablet 5-2 can be identified from the Fs series.

Table 5-2: Divinities and Religious Locales in the Fs series

Divinities	**Locales**	**Offerings**	
pa-de	*da-da-re*[	HORD	Grain
	sa-na-to-de	*NI*	Figs
	o-ja-de	FAR	Flour
	]*ki-ri-jo-de*[	VIN	Wine
me-na?[649]		OLE	Oil

[648] On Fp 1 as well as on a fragmentary tablet X 723 which was found in the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco.

[649]The interpretation of *me-na* on Fs 3 is debated. Some suggest that it is a feminine theonym */Mēna/* (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 309; Palmer 1963: 433) or an anthroponym (Gérard-Rousseau 1968: 140). Melena refutes its interpretation as a toponym (Melena 1974: 316). A further discussion of this term that

B. The Gallery of the Jewel Fresco

The Gallery of the Jewel Fresco, findspot G1 on the map of the palace (fig. 4.1), is located to the southeast of the Throne Room and just west of the long corridor providing access to the magazines. According to Firth, who has thoroughly examined the find contexts of the Knossos tablets, this findspot is closely connected with G2 referred to as the Small Room to the East of the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco.[650] In addition, he connects the findspots H2 (Throne Room), H4 (Space South of the Bath Corridor) and E3 (Temple Repositories Room) with the nearby Gallery of the Jewel Fresco. He believes that these are part of the same tablet deposit and their dispersion results from the tablets falling from an upper storey. For this reason, I will examine all of the tablets from these findspots as a single deposit.[651]

The tablets from the area of the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco are a less coherent set of texts than those from the Room of the Clay Chest, which record only offerings of oil. The tablets from this findspot record a variety of commodities, such as offerings of honey (*ME+RI*) in amphorae *(*209*^{VAS}) grouped in the Gg series,[652] quantities of wool (LANA) from the Od series,[653] and cloth (TELA, **146* and **166*) from the L, M and Oa series.[654] A single oil tablet (F 726), a sheep text (Dk 727), a mixed commodity tablet (U 736), two

considers all of the attestations of this term in the Knossos tablets is provided below (see Chapter 5, Section II.D1).

[650] Firth 2000-2001.

[651] See Appendix I.C for a complete list of tablets from this findspot.

[652] Gg 702-705, 709, 711, 717, 5185, 5552, 7369 and 8053.

[653] Od 714-716, and 718.

[654] L 470, 590, 735, 7409; M 719, 720, 724, 729 and 1645; Oa 730-732, 734, 745, 878, 1808.

spice tablets (Ga 442 and 738) and a number of fragmentary (X) tablets[655] complete the set (Appendix I.C).

A total of 43 tablets were recovered from these findspots. Most of them were written by one of two scribes, Hands 103 and 140.[656] Hand 103 is a very prolific scribe and wrote a number of tablets found in the West Magazines. All of the tablets written by Hand 140 come from the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco[657] with the exception of V 684 found in the Magazines. 10 tablets clearly record religious offerings, again indicated by the presence of *pa-si-te-o-i* or by some indication of the month.[658] To this number, we can add at least 7 other tablets that seem to contain religious information.[659] Od 714-716 record offerings of cloth to *e-re-u-ti-ja,* a term which can be identified as a divinity. *e-re-u-ti-ja* is also found on Gg 705:

Gg 705	.1	] a-mi-ni-so , / e-re-u-ti-ja *ME+RI *209*^{VAS} 1
	.2	]pa-si-te-o-i *ME+RI*209*^{VAS} 1
	.3	]o-ne *ME+RI *209*^{VAS} 1
	.1	To Amnisos, for Eleuthia 1 amphora of honey
	.2	For all the gods 1 amphora of honey
	.3	For …*o-ne* 1 amphora of honey

Here, *e-re-u-ti-ja* is in a position parallel to *pa-si-te-o-i,* providing a strong indication that this term is also a divinity. In addition, *e-re-u-ti-ja* is localized at the site of Amnisos, and scholars have noted the connection with the later goddess Eileithuia whose sacred

[655] X 721-723, 728, 743 and 744.
[656] Two are written by Scribe 214 (L 735 and 7409), one by Scribe 136 (Ga 738) and possibly one by Scribe 117 (Dk 727). The remaining tablets are unassigned.
[657] Gg (3) and M 719. V 684 (found in the north end of Long Corridor between Magazines 9-13) seems to record pieces of ivory and another unknown commodity (*ka-so*); it is tentatively assigned to Hand 140.
[658] Gg 702, 704, 705, 717, 5552, 7369 and 8053; Oa 745; M 724 and 1645.
[659] M 719 and 729, Od 714-716 and 718, and X 723.

cave was located at Amnisos (Hom. *Od.* 19.188).[660] Perhaps the fragmentary Od 718, which records only the term *a-mi-ni-so,* should also be included among these *e-re-u-ti-ja* tablets, especially since it is also written by Hand 103.[661] Also of interest on Gg 705 is the fragmentary]*o-ne,* which occurs two other times in the Gg series from the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco.[662] It may be the final portion of a theonym in the dative case. Gg 717 may contain a slightly longer fragment of this word in the form of]*si̯-da-o-ne.* If this is the case, it may be possible that the complete form of this word is *e-ne-si-da-o-ne,* which is found on M 719 written by the same scribe as Gg 717. By extension, *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* could also be interpreted as a theonym. Admittedly, this interpretation may be a bit tenuous, so the divine status of *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* should perhaps be considered hypothetical.

Two additional tablets that contain religious information are M 729 and X 723. M 729 records the divine name]*po-ti-ni-ja*[, which is well attested as a theonym in the Linear B corpus, and probably records an offering of cloth (**146*) to this goddess.[663] X 723 contains only the term *da-da-re-jo-de* which is identified as cult place on KN Fp 1 discussed above (Section IV.A1). The remaining tablets from the Gallery of the Jewel

[660] A cult of Eileithuia in Amnisos is also attested by Strabo *Geo*. 10.4.8 and Pausanias 1.18.5. The site of Amnisos has been excavated by the University of Heidelberg, see Schäfer 1989.

[661] Hand 103 records the bulk of the Od series, many of which come from the Northwest Passage, and record quantities of LANA used in the manufacture of textiles (Nosch 2007). The Od tablets written by Hand 103 from the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco Deposit all contain the theonym *e-re-u-ti-ja*, except for Od 718. For a recent discussion of the tablets from the Northwest Passage, see Gulizio forthcoming.

[662] Gg 704 and 5185.

[663] This tablet is broken on both sides of the term *po-ti-ni-ja*, so it is uncertain if it is complete; it is possible that a word preceded this theonym.]*ma-wo* in the line above is not likely complete.

Fresco are either too fragmentary to interpret[664] or contain only hapaxes,[665] However, most of them are consistent with the more complete tablets from this findspot. For example, the fragmentary Gg tablets may have once recorded offerings of honey to divinities, but the names and/or locales do not survive.[666] Gg 703 records a large number of amphoras of honey (34 on the *recto* and perhaps 80 on the *verso*), so may be a totaling tablet for this series. F 726 is broken on both sides, but the first word seems to have ended with]*wi-jo-jo,* an ending not uncommon for month names. With this in mind, it should be noted that only 11 of the 42 tablets from the Gallery of Jewel Fresco are complete enough to be confident that they are *not* concerned with religious matters. Based on this, it may be reasonable to posit that the primary purpose of these tablets was to record the movement of commodities, specifically to *religious* locales.

To summarize the findings from the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco: the tablets from this findspot record a significantly lower number of divinities than the tablets from the Room of the Clay Chest – 4 or 5 different divinities, depending upon one's interpretation. In addition, only two locales, the toponymn *a-mi-ni-so* and the sanctuary designation *da-da-re-jo-de,* are clearly attested.[667] On the other hand, the Gallery of Jewel Fresco tablets attest to a wide variety of religious offerings (see Table 5-3 below).

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[664] Such as Gg 703, though given the large number off amphoras of honey (34 on the *recto* and perhaps 80 on the *verso*), this is probably a totaling tablet; Gg 709 has the end of a word]-*na* and 2 **209*^{VAS}. Od 718 only record the place name *a-mi-ni-so* which is not inconsistent with religious tablets from this findspot or from the Room of the Clay Chest; F 726 is broken on both sides, but the first word seems to have ended with]*wi-jo-jo,* a common ending for month names; finally, X 721 has the unknown term]*ke-do-ro*[.

[665] M 720 and X 722 defy a trustworthy interpretation.

[666] Especially since the only Gg tablets that are more complete are religious. The fragmentary tablets are Gg 705, 709, 711 and 5185.

[667] That is, only ones that we can identify. It is possible that some of the hapaxes are place names.

Table 5-3: Divinities and Religious Locales from the Gallery of Jewel Fresco

Divinities		**Locales**		**Offerings**[668]	
pa-si-te-o-i	All the Gods	*a-mi-ni-so*	Amnisos	*MERI*	Honey
da-pu$_2$*-ri-to-jo* *po-ti-ni-ja*	Potnia of Labyinthos	*da-da-re-jo-de*	Daidaleion	**146*	Cloth
				**166*	Cloth
e-re-u-ti-ja	Eleuthia			LANA	Wool
e-ne]-*si-da-o-ne*?	Enesidaon?			OLE	Oil
po-ti-ni-ja	Potnia				

It should be noted that the tablets from the Gallery of Jewel Fresco share similarities with the Room of the Clay Chest. First, they are both concerned with sending offerings to specific places, whether a place name (*a-mi-ni-so*) or a cult locale (*da-da-re-jo*). More importantly, they both frequently make use of the term *pa-si-te-o-i.* In fact, of the 15 attestations of *pa-si-te-o-i,* 14 of them occur on tablets either from the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco or the Room of the Clay Chest.[669] The significance of the term *pa-si-te-o-i* is discussed in the conclusions below (Chapter 5, Section II.E).

C. The Room of the Column Bases

The Room of the Column Bases (hereafter, referred to as the *RCB*) is located on the west side of the central court (findspot E1 on the map in fig. 4.1). Approximately 150 Linear B tablets and tablet fragments were found in the northeast corner of this room in a

[668] I have only included offerings from tablets whose identification as religious is certain. Other commodities on *GJF* tablets are AROM, TELA, **161,* AES **167,* and **181*.

[669] The only other attestation of *pa-si-te-o-i* is found Ga 953 from findspot I3, which interestingly enough seems also to be a religious document. It records offerings to *pa-de* and *a-mi-ni-so-de,* as well as *pa-sa-ja* who is found on the fragmentary tablet X 451 with *si-ja-ma-to,* and possibly on Ga 5672 with the term *me-no* (only *pa-sa*[is preserved).

deposit containing burnt wood.[670] These tablets, like those from the Room of the Clay Chest, may have been stored in a wooden box.[671] The texts record quantities of oil and have been classed either as Fh tablets written by Hand 141 or as Fp(2) tablets by Hand 222.[672]

The oil tablets from the *RCB* differ from the Fp(1) series from the Room of the Clay Chest. The Fp(1) series *only* records small quantities of oil given to divinities, sanctuaries or religious officials, whereas the tablets from the *RCB* record both large and small amounts of oil associated with a greater variety of locations, both secular and religious. In addition, the tablets from the *RCB* include a variety of transactional terms denoting: (1) total quantities of oil (*to-so*); (2) payments of oil made to the palace (*a-pu-do-si*); (3) quantities of oil given as a benefit (*o-no*) either to the palace or to an individual; and (4) oil that is either owed by the palace[673] or used to pay a penalty or religious fine (*qe-te-o*).[674] The Fh and Fp(2) series also contain terms describing the treatment or uses for oil. Some oil is described as (1) *zo-a* meaning something like "to be boiled;"[675] (2) *e-pi-ko-wa* suggesting oil that is "poured onto" something;[676] (3) *po-ro-ko-wa* meaning oil that is "poured forth;"[677] (4) *ne-wo* referring to "new" oil; and (5) *to-ro-*

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[670] See Appendix I.D for tablets providing religious information. For a full list of all tablets from this findspot, see Firth 2000-2001: 205. For the most recent transcriptions of these tablets, see Chadwick, Godart, Killen, Olivier, Sacconi, and Sakellarakis 1986-1998.
[671] Firth 2000-2001: 203.
[672] Some tablets are very fragmentary and do not contain the oil ideogram. However, all of the texts that can be read with some certainty are related to oil distribution or payments.
[673] Killen 1979: 169.
[674] Hutton 1990-1991.
[675] Related to the verb /**zohā*/ (Classical Greek ζέω). Palmer 1963: 465; Ruijgh 1967: 373, 380.
[676] Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 392: /*epikhowāi*/ (Greek ἐπιχόα).
[677] Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 277: /**prokhowā*/ (Greek προχοή).

qa,[678] an uncertain term that may be related to the Greek τρέπω "to turn"[679] or a technical term describing the ailmentary consumption of oil.[680] Finally, many tablets contain no transactional or descriptive terms; rather, they provide only the oil quantity and the person(s) or place to whom the oil is allotted. What unites the *RCB* tablets as a group is that they track the movements of different types of oil, both coming in and going out of the palace, and/or what the intended use of the oil is.

Although a few of the tablets from the *RCB* seem to record oil offerings, the tablet deposit as a whole does not seem to be *primarily* concerned with religious matters. In this respect, the *RCB* oil tablets differ from the Room of the Clay Chest tablets. For this reason, we must determine which tablets record religious offerings. Of course, this process is not straightforward given the fragmentary nature of the tablets. However, some progress can be made using the information gained from the Room of the Clay Chest and Gallery of the Jewel Fresco tablets.

To begin, a number of divinities encountered in the Room of the Clay Chest may also be attested on the *RCB* tablets: *e-ri-nu*[is found on Fh 390 and **56-ti*[on Fh 9077.[681] Two additional theonyms may be partially preserved: *qe-ra-si*[on Fh 5475 could represent *qe-ra-si-ja* and *si-ja-ma*[on Fp 5472 may have once been *si-ja-ma-to* Unfortunately, all of these tablets are very fragmentary. No other terms accompany *e-ri-*

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[678] *to-qa* and *ro-to-qa* on Fh 339 and 391 respectively may be scribal errors or variants of *to-ro-qa* (Godart 1968: 603, n. 9).
[679] Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 587; Ruijgh 1968: 705-707.
[680] Aura Jorro 1985 and 1993: II, 366.
[681] Fh 1057 records **56-i-ti* which could be a graphic variant of **56-ti* or a personal name, perhaps derived from the theonymn **56-ti* (Melena 1987: 210, 213-214). Because the interpretation **56-i-ti* is uncertain and the tablet itself provides no additional information, it is not included here as a possible divinity.

nu[and *qe-ra-si*[*-ja*. Other than **56-ti*[, Fh 9077 contains a liquid measurement on the right side of the tablet which presumably was preceded by the ideogram for olive oil. Only Fp 5472 has additional terms preserved on it:

Fp 5472	.1	ku-pi-ri-jo / su-ko-ne ϙLĘ[
	.2	si-ja-mą[ ] OLE 1 S
	.3	] *vest.* [ ] de ϙLE 2
	.4	] *vacat*

Unfortunately, these terms are not very informative. *ku-pi-ri-jo* is attested a number of times in the Fh tablets. Based on its use in Fp 5472, it seems to be the name of an official, perhaps related to the fabrication of perfumed oil and similar to an unguent boiler[682] or a collector as proposed by Killen.[683] *su-ko-ne* is a hapax, so its identification is uncertain.[684] Since neither of these terms are clearly divinities or cult locales, any divine interpretation for the partial *si-ja-ma*[is purely dependent upon its context on KN Fp(1) 48 from the Room of the Clay Chest.

In addition to these divinities, it may be possible to identify two additional gods in the Knossian pantheon. As discussed above, a number of tablets from the Room of the Clay Chest begin with a month name. Though this is not case for the *RCB* tablets, two

[682] Godart 1967: 209.
[683] Killen 1979: 178; 1995: 215-221. For a fuller discussion with references, see Bendall 2007: 121, n. 80. For a recent discussion on collectors, see Olivier 2001.
[684] Some have posited a personal name (Duhoux 1976: 140) or a description of the oil (Godart 1969: 62, n.92).

terms are very similar to some of these known month names. The first is]*ka-ra-e-i-jo* on Fp 354:[685]

Fp 354	.1	]ka-ra-e-i-jo OLE 1 S 2	
	.2	]jo OLE V 1	pa-ja-ni-jo OLE V 1

It has been suggested that]*ka-ra-e-i-jo* may be either a graphic variant or scribal error for the rather frequent month name *ka-ra-e-ri-jo.*[686] The month name is attested, in the nominative case, four times in the KN Fp(1) series, written by Hand 138.[687] In addition, it has been reconstructed on two tablets from the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco (Gg 7369 and M 1645 written by Hand 103) in the genitive case as *ka-*]*ra-e-ri-jo-jo*. The fact that one scribe uses the nominative case and another the genitive could be attributed to scribal variation: Hand 103 is the only scribe that uses the genitive case, whereas the nominative is recorded by Hand 138 and possibly 222. In either case, *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* should be considered a nominative of the rubric and probably would have been understood as a temporal genitive by anyone viewing this tablet.[688] This reading is confirmed by the presence of the word for month (*me-no*) which, in most of these instances, follows *ka-ra-e-ri-jo(-jo)*.[689]

]*ka-ra-e-i-jo* in Fh 354, however, is probably <u>*not*</u> referring to the month name. It is not followed by *me-no* and, unlike its attestations in the Fp(1) tablets, it is immediately

685 Since the left side of the tablet is broken, the possibility exists that some signs preceded]*ka-ra-e-ri-jo.* However, given its similarity to the month name, this seems unlikely.
686 Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 305 and 550; Palmer 1963: 424.
687 KN Fp 6, 7, 15, and 18.
688 Nominatives of the rubric are common in the Linear B tablets, referred to by Palmer (1963: 235) as a "neutral" nominative, see above Chapter 5, Section II.A.
689 *me-no* does not occur on Fp 6 and only partially on Fp 18 as *me*-[*no.*

followed by a quantity of oil. Therefore,]*ka-ra-e-i-jo* must be receiving a quantity of oil and so cannot be an indication of time.[690] Unfortunately, the two other terms on Fh 354 (the fragmentary]-*jo* and the hapax *pa-ja-ni-jo*) do not help determine more precisely whether]*ka-ra-e-i-jo* is a place name, personal name, theonym or something else.

A term from the *RCB* that is identical to a month name is *de-u-ki-jo*[occurs on Fh 5502:

Fh 5502	.a	V 2̣
	.b	ku-ru-me-ne-jo / de-u-ḳi-jọ[

Fh 5502 is broken at the right so it is uncertain if *de-u-ki-jo*[is complete. However, it is clearly related etymologically to the month name on KN Fp 1 which occurs in the genitive case (*de-u-ki-jo-jo*). Though no ideogram is preserved, presumably Fh 5502 records an allotment of oil like the other tablets from this findspot. The amount of oil (V 2) is partially preserved and written above *de-u-ki-jo*[. *ku-ru-me-ne-jo* is a hapax but it seems to be related to the common personal name *ku-ru-me-no* attested on tablets from Knossos, Pylos and Thebes.[691] Like]*ka-ra-e-i-jo* on Fp 354, *de-u-ki-jo*[does not seem to be functioning as a month name: (1) it is not the tablet header; that is, it does not appear first on the tablet and *ku-ru-me-ne-jo* is written in majuscule, suggesting it is the more

[690] The only other interpretation would be that the oil quantity following]*ka-ra-e-ri-jo* is a total amount of oil offered in that month. The remaining entries then would be the breakdown of how that oil was distributed. However, such a method of recording is unattested in the Linear B tablets. Instead, total quantities are provided at the bottom of the tablets usually accompanied by the term *to-so*(-*de*) meaning "so much."

[691] Either a possessive adjective derived from *ku-ru-me-no* (Melena 1975: 138) or an anthroponym closely connected to it (Godart 1969: 42, 44).

prominent word on the tablet; and (2) it was probably followed by an oil ideogram and the amount of oil to be offered.[692] Therefore, *de-u-ki-jo* too is a recipient of oil.

Even though context suggests that *ka-ra-e-i-jo* and *de-u-ki-jo* do not function as month names in the Fh series, they must somehow be etymologically related to them. Assuming that month names are not randomly chosen and carry with them some societal significance, two opposing scenarios might explain this relationship: (1) *ka-ra-e-*(*r*)*i-jo* and *de-u-ki-jo* were originally month names and the terms in the Fh series are personal names or toponyms based on them; or (2) *ka-ra-e-*(*r*)*i-jo* and *de-u-ki-jo* were originally religious terms, such as theonyms or festival names, and the months were named after these terms. The fact that month names in the Linear B tablets are always used in religious contexts may add support to the latter possibility. In addition, month names and the names of festivals are often etymologically related in later Greek religion, suggesting that these may be the names of festivals.[693]

Unfortunately, no definitive solution can be provided for this problem, though some comparative evidence may point to a possible answer. KN Fp 5 records the month name *di-wi-jo,*[694] an adjectival form derived from the theonym Zeus (/**diwyos*/ > /*dios*/)

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[692] Of course, it is possible that the scribe could have recorded the month name second on this tablet, especially since Hand 141 is not always consistent with his word order. For example, on Fh 5246 *ku-pi-ri-jo* is written first in majuscule followed by *ma-ro-ne*, but on Fh 347 the order is reversed: *ma-ro-ne* is first in larger signs followed by *ku-pi-ri-jo.* However, since no other month names occur in this series, I believe it is unlikely that *de-u-ki-jo* is functioning in this capacity.

[693] For example, the Anthesteria festival in Athens in celebrated in the month of Anthesterion. In fact, in 11 of the 12 months of the Athenian calendar, the month name is related to the name of a festival that takes place during that month (Parke 1977).

[694] In the genitive case, *di-wi-jo-jo.*

and understood as "the month of Zeus."[695] If *di-wi-jo* can serve as an example, the possibility exists that *ka-ra-e-*(*r*)*i-jo* and *de-u-ki-jo* could also be related to theonyms from which the month names were subsequently derived. Since *ka-ra-e-i-jo* and *de-u-ki-jo* cannot function as month names in Fh series, it may be possible that they are the names of festivals or sanctuaries to the divinities from whose names they are derived.[696] Sanctuaries and temples are often named after the gods that they honor both in the Bronze Age (*di-wi-jo* and *po-si-da-i-jo* on PY Tn 316, referring to the Diwion or "sanctuary of Zeus" and the Posidaion or "sanctuary of Poseidon," respectively) and the historical period (e.g. Heraion refers to a temple to Hera and Artemesion a temple to Artemis). By analogy, perhaps the theonyms *ka-ra-e-(r)e* and *de-u-ke* could be reconstructed. Admittedly, such a conclusion is based on tenuous evidence and other explanations could be provided. At best, the possibility that *ka-ra-e-*(*r*)*i-jo* and *de-u-ki-jo* refer to sanctuaries or festivals derived from theonyms should be considered.

One cult locale mentioned in the Room of Clay Chest and the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco, is also found on the tablets from the *RCB*. *di-ka-ta-de* occurs on line .1 of Fh 5467. Line .2 of this tablets records the term *i-je*[*-ro* meaning "sacred" or "consecrated" immediately following]*de,* which likely is the allative suffix attached to an unpreserved placename. Since *di-ka-ta-de* is a known cult locale and]*de* is followed by the term *i-je[-ro,* it is reasonable to understand both of these entries as religious disbursements. *i-je-ro* also occurs on Fp(2) 363 along with the place name plus allative, *da-*83-ja-de*,

[695] Ventris and Chadwick (1973: 126, 305) notes that /*Dios*/ is the first month in the Macedonian calendar; García López 1976: 86.
[696] Based on analogy with *di-wi-jo,* perhaps the theonyms *ka-ra-e-(r)e* and *de-u-ke* could be reconstructed.

suggesting that this too was a location for cult activities.[697] Given this interpretation, it is possible to interpret *da-*83-ja-de* on Fh 365 and 9067 as a cult locale receiving religious offerings of oil. Only these locations listed in the Fh and Fp(2) series can <u>*with confidence*</u> be identified as cult locales.[698]

Killen has suggested that an additional seven toponyms from the Fh series can be identified as religious locales: **47-so-de, ra-ma-na-de, e-ra-de, ḍạ-so-de, tu-ni-ja-de,*]*o-na-de,*[699] and *me-ra-de*.[700] His criteria for identifying such locales is the presence of the allative *–de* and records of oil in small quantities. However, he does not explain why either of these criteria would indicate that these tablets record religious offerings.[701] It has <u>not</u> been demonstrated that place names ending in *–de* must be locations of cult activity.[702] It is true that *–de* is often attached to the names of sanctuaries or cult locales, such as *da-da-re-jo-de* and *di-ka-ta-de*. However, this is not the case for all instances of *–de.* For instance, at Pylos, the allative *de* occurs at least twice in non-religious contexts: *pe-re-u-ro-na-de* on An 1[703] and *a-mo-te-jo-na-de* on Vn 10.[704] What complicates the

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[697] It is uncertain if *i-je-ro* in these contexts is an adjective referring to the oil /*hieron*/ (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 548) or a noun meaning "shrine" (Gerard-Rousseau 1968: 113).

[698] *i-je-ro* may also be attested on Fh 2013, but the term is fragmentary (*i-je-*[*ro).* Moreover, the tablet itself is in poor condition, preserving only the terms]*ja-*[.]*-jo / pe-da* immediately preceding *i-je-*[. Given the scrappy quality of the tablet and the terms provided, it is omitted from discussion.

[699]]*o-na-de*[, which Killen 1987 claims is on Fh 5431, can be omitted from his list of cult places. According to the forthcoming edition of *The Knossos Tablets, Sixth Edition*, there is a word divider after *o-na*, followed by *de-ṃị-ṇị-jọ.*

[700] Killen (1987: 163-164) provides a complete list of approximately 16 cult locales recorded in the Fh, Fp, F, Ga, Gg, M and Od series. I believe that the identification of seven of the toponyms from the Fh series as cult locales is questionable.

[701] He does note the parallel with *di-ka-ta-de* on Fh 5467 whose occurance with *i-je-*[allows for a fairly certain religious interpretation.

[702] Lejeune 1971: 255-265.

[703] PY An 1 is personal tablet recording of rowers going to the site of Pleuron (*pe-re-u-ro-na-de: /Pleurōnde/).*

issue is that, of all the tablets at *Knossos* containing place names plus *–de*, the only ones that can be interpreted with some confidence are the religious offering tablets. However, to assume that the allative *–de* is therefore used *only* in religious contexts at Knossos begs the question. Therefore, additional evidence for religion must be available to make such a claim.

For Killen, small quantities of oil serve as the supporting evidence for the identification of religious offerings. Is this, along with place names ending *–de,* enough to identify a religious offering and, by extension, the location of cult activity? It is true that small amounts of oil are often recorded in clearly religious contexts, such as in the Fp(1) series. However, I do not think that small quantities should be used as *primary* evidence for religious offerings. For example, if we were trying to determine if *a-re, di-we* and *e-ri-nu* are related to the divine names known in later Greek religion as Ares, Zeus and Erinys, respectively, evidence suggesting that they were also divinities in the Bronze Age include: (1) they occur in positions parallel to the indisputable Greek term, *pa-si-te-o-i;* (2) they are part of a cohesive group of tablets (Fp(1) series), all written by the same scribe (Hand 138), and all concerned with recording religious offerings of oil; and (3) they are recipients of small quantities of oil. (1) and (2) are already good indications that *a-re, di-we* and *e-ri-nu* are theonyms. Therefore, the fact that they receive small amounts of oil is used to *support* this rather strong hypothesis. However, to

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[704] PY Vn 10 records axel-sized pieces of wood and saplings going to the chariot workshop (*a-mo-te-jo-na-de:* /*harmoteiōnade*/).

assume that all small amounts of oil are indicative of religious offerings and to use this assumption as primary evidence for the identification of a religious context is incautious.

A further problem should be addressed. Killen does not define what he means by a "small quantity" of oil. Oil amounts in the Fp(1) series range from a whole unit (OLE 1) to one-eighteenth of a whole unit (OLE V 1). In metric terms, this equals 28.8 to 1.6 liters. Since the Fp(1) series does record religious oil offerings, the amounts provided on these tablets can serve as a guide. How do the oil amounts in the Fh series compare?

As mentioned above, the Fh series records both large and small quantities of oil, as well as a variety of transactional terms and descriptions of oil. When the oil quantities are examined with reference to these various terms and descriptions, certain patterns emerge. In this evaluation, naturally only tablets preserving oil amounts are considered. In addition, tablets containing transactional or descriptive terms are analyzed first in an attempt to determine any connection between these terms and the oil amounts. Lastly, the tablets that lack any such terminology are assessed based solely on their oil quantities. Table 6 summarizes the results.

Within the Fh series, at least three distinctions based on oil quantities can be made: very large quantities, moderate amounts and considerably small allotments. As would be expected, the largest amounts of oil by far are found on totaling tablets (see Table 5-4:A):[705] Fh 367 records a total of OLE 330 S 1 which equals an astounding 9,532.2 liters and Fh 366+5503 registers OLE 339 V 5 equaling 9,771.2 liters. Oil to be paid to the palace (*a-pu-do-si*), oil intended to be boiled (*zo-a*), new oil (*ne-wo*), and *to-*

[705] Tablets containing the term *to-so* or *to-so-de,* meaning "so much."

ro-qa oil are recorded in more moderate amounts with a greater range of quantities – 4 to 53 whole units of oil (see Table 5-4:B, C, D and E).[706] More problematic are the terms *o-no* and *ku-pi-ri-jo* because the range of quantities is more variable. *ku-pi-ri-jo* registers large to moderate amounts (OLE 6 to OLE 150).[707] On the other hand, *o-no* oil usually occurs in much smaller amounts (OLE 1 to OLE 2 S 2),[708] except when oil is given as a benefit (*o-no*) to *ku-pi-ri-jo.* These terms occur together on two tablets: Fh 372 registering 150 whole units of oil and Fh 5447 recording a significantly smaller amount of approximately 9 whole units (see Table 5-4:F and G).[709] It is unclear why such large quantities of oil are being distributed as a benefit to *ku-pi-ri-jo*.

Table 5-4: Oil Quantities on the Fh Series

A. <u>*Totaling Tablets* (*to-so*)</u>

Tablet	**Recipient/Location**	**Terminology**	**Amount**
Fh 366+5503		to-so a-pu-do-si	OLE 339 V 5
Fh 367		to-so-ku-su-pa	OLE 330 S 1

[706] Equaling 144 to 1,526.4 liters of oil. It is possible that one tablet (F 376) records *to-ro-qa* oil in the amount of one whole unit of oil (28.8 liters). However, this tablet is fragmentary; only]*ro-qa* is preserved and the oil amount may not be complete. For this reason, I have not included this tablet in my analysis.

[707] 172.8 to 4,320 liters.

[708] 28.8 to 76.8 liters.

[709] *o-no* and *ku-pi-ri-jo* also occur on together on Fh 361 along with the term *zo-a* (oil to be boiled). On this tablet, *ku-pi-ri-jo* is written in majescule, and the right half of the table is divided into two lines. Line .a records OLE 21 S 2 and line .b reads *o-no zo-a* OLE ȝ V ȝ. Given the difficulties with interpreting this tablet and determining how these oils quantites are being used, this tablet has been omitted from the discussion.

B. *Oil Payments to the palace* (*a-pu-do-si*)[710]

Tablet	Recipient/Location	Terminology	Amount
Fh 349	ru-ki-to	a-pu-do-si	OLE 53 V 3
Fh 5459		a-pu-do-si	OLE 37 S 1
Fh 5451	a-mi-ni-si-ja	a-pu-do-si	OLE 30
Fh 340	ka-ro	a-pu-do-si	OLE 23 S 2
Fh 379		a-]pu-do-si	OLE 17 S 2

C. *Oil for Boiling* (*zo-a*)

Tablet	Recipient/Location	Terminology	Amount
Fh 380	]jo-te	zo-a	OLE 33 S 1
Fh 355	qa-ti-ja	zo-a	OLE 30
Fh 5436	]-de	zo-a	OLE 23 S 1
Fh 343	du-pu_2-so	zo-a	OLE 15

D. *to-ro-qa Oil*

Tablet	Recipient/Location	Terminology	Amount
Fh 339	o-pa-wo-ne-ja	to-qa	OLE 24
Fh 391		ro-to-qa	OLE 20
Fh 358		to-ro-qa	OLE 10
Fh 5497		to-ro-qa	OLE 5

E. *New Oil* (*ne-wo-(jo)*)

Tablet	Recipient/Location	Terminology	Amount
Fh 362		[[ne-wo	OLE 83
Fh 385		]ne-wo	OLE 10
Fh 5506	[...]ra-de	ne-wo-jo	OLE 4

[710] Fh 377 contains]*si* plus a large quantity of oil (OLE 152 V 2). It has been suggestsed that]*si* could be restored to *a-pu-do-*]*si* because the total amount of all the *a-pu-do-si* tablets, including Fh 377, comes close to the total amount on Fh 366+5503 which records the total amount of payments (*a-pu-do-si*) (Godart 1968: 599; 1987: 203). *a-pu-do-si* is also attested on Fh <374>, 5434, and 5444, but the oil quantities are not preserved; therefore they are omitted from this discussion.

F. *Oil for ku-pi-ri-jo*

Tablet	Recipient/Location	Terminology	Amount
Fh 372		ku-pi-ri-jo / o-no	OLE 150
Fh 5246	ma-ro-ne	ku-pi-ri-jo	OLE 100
Fh 371	]o-se-ko-do	ku-pi-ri-jo	OLE 13 S 1
Fh 5447	]-ki-ro	ku-pi-ri-jo o-no	OLE 9 S X
Fh 347	ma-ro-ne	ku-pi-ri-jo	OLE 6 S 2

G. *Oil Given as a Benefit* (*o-no*)

Tablet	Recipient/Location	Terminology	Amount
Fh 372		ku-pi-ri-jo / o-no	OLE 150
Fh 5447	]-ki-ro	ku-pi-ri-jo o-no	OLE 9 S X
Fh 348	i-su-ku-wo-do-to	o-no	OLE 1 S 1
Fh 347	we-we-ro	o-no	OLE 1

Three other descriptive terms used in the Fh series, which are not included in the tables above, deserve further discussion: *e-pi-ko-wa, po-ro-ko-wa,* and *qe-te-o.* Given the etymology of these terms, such oil may have been used in or set aside for a religious ceremony. *e-pi-ko-wa* may refer to oil used in anointing ("oil to be poured on"), *po-ro-ko-wa* as oil for libations ("oil to be poured forth")[711] and *qe-te-o* as oil given as some sort of religious fine or penalty.[712] Though such interpretations are attractive, the evidence set is tenuous: *e-pi-ko-wa* and *po-ro-ko-wa* only occur twice each in the Fh series and in only two of these instances is a quantity of oil given. *qe-te-o* occurs once in

[711] Palmer 1963: 447 and Doria 1965: 232; for alternative explanations, see Gérard Rousseau 1968: 94; Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 477; Melena 1983: 112.
[712] Baumback 1971: 181.

the Fh series and once in the Fp(2) series in the plural form, *qe-te-a.* The tablets are transcribed as follows:

Fh 343		du-pu$_2$-so / zo-a OLE 15 **e-pi-ko-wa** ọḷẹ ḷ S 1 V 3
Fh 380		jo-te / zo-a OLE 33 S 1 **e-pi-ko-ẉạ**[
Fh 350		**po-ro-ko-wa** OLE 2
Fh 381		]**po-ro-ko-wa** , a[
Fh 348	.1	o-no , i-su-ku-wo-do-to , OLE 1 S 1
	.2	**qe-te-o** , [[te-o]] OLE 1
Fp 363	.1	**qe-te-a** , te-re-no OLE [
	.2	da-**83*-ja-de / i-je-ro S 2 ki-ri-te-wi-ja , [
	.3	di-wo-pu-ka-ta S 2 [
	.4	]*vacat* [

On both Fh 343 and 380, *e-pi-ko-wa* occurs as an entry following an amount of *zo-a* oil. Also, both tablets begin with a personal name written in majuscule, *du-pu$_2$-so* and *jo-te,* respectively. These tablets record both a large amount of oil intended to be boiled, and much smaller amount that perhaps will be used for anointing. Bendall, citing Gerard-Rousseau, notes that *e-pi-ko-wa* does not necessarily have any religious connotations, since the act of pouring could involve a non-religious activity.[713] One possible, non-religious, explanation in the context of these tablets would be that *e-pi-ko-wa* oil is being designated for the anointing of textiles, a practice recorded in the Linear B tablets from Pylos.[714] However, the fragmentary instances of *e-pi-ko-wa* in this series do not specify

[713] Bendall 2007: 126-127 and n. 120.

[714] Shelmerdine 1985: 123-128. It should be noted, however, that in the Fr series at Pylos, the cloth that is being anointed is in a religious context (for *u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja*). Also, a type of unguent (*a-ro-pa*), which

that this is the case. For this reason, I leave open the possibility that *e-pi-ko-wa* oil could have been used for either secular or religious purposes.

This brings us to the related term *po-ro-ko-wa*. Bendall provides a good argument against the common interpretation of this word as a technical term ('oil to be poured forth') and instead prefers to read this word as a personal name or occupational term.[715] Her argument relies upon the structure of the tablets on which this term occurs. On Fh 350 which is a complete record, *po-ro-ko-wa* is the only term provided. Based on parallels within the Fh set, such an entry should refer to a recipient or contributor, rather than a technical term. When technical terms such as *zo-a, to-ro-qa, o-no* and *a-pu-do-si* occur on complete entries the Fh series, they are always accompanied by another term, usually a personal name, occupational term or a place name. Fh 381, though fragmentary, does provide the beginning of another word (*a*[ ); however, this term is in the second position, suggesting that *po-ro-ko-wa* is the primary entry, making *a*[a secondary, descriptive term. Given this analysis, it seems less likely that *po-ro-ko-wa* is functioning as a description of oil, though once again the possibility perhaps should remain open given the fragmentary condition of the Fh set and our inability to fully comprehend many of the terms provided.

qe-te-o is attested only once in the Fh series. As mentioned above, the etymology of *qe-te-o* may suggest that this oil was offered as some type of religious fine or penalty. This interpretation, however, has been called into question. Killen believes that *qe-te-o*

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would be used for treating textiles (Shelmerdine 1995), would probably not have been poured due to the thickness of the substance, but may have actually been smeared onto cloth.

[715] Bendall 2007.

refers to oil to be paid *by* the palace.[716] Of course, the two interpretations are not mutually exclusive; that is, the palace itself could be paying a religious fine. The plural form *qe-te-a* occurs on Fp(2) 363 along with the religious entry *da-*83-ja-de i-je-ro*, which lends support to the interpretation that *qe-te-o* can be understood as registering a religious payment.

Returning to the question regarding oil quantities and whether small quantities must denote religious offerings, it is interesting that all of the tablets containing terms which *etymologically* may be interpreted as religious record relatively small quantities of oil (i.e. approximately two whole units or fewer) (see Table 5-5).

Table 5-5: Oil Quantities for Possible Religious Offerings in *RCB* tablets

Tablet	**Recipient**	**Terminology**	**Amount**
Fh 9077 Fp 5472	*56-ti si-ja-ma[		[OLE] 1 S 1 OLE 1 S [1
 Fh 5467 Fp(2) 363	.1 di-ka-ta-de .2]de da-*83-ja-de	 i-je[-ro i-je-ro	 OLE 1 V 1 OLE S 2
Fh 5502 Fp 354	ku-ru-me-ne-jo /]ka-ra-e-i-jo	de-u-ki-jo	OLE V 2 (?) OLE 1 S 1
Fh 350 Fh 343 Fh 348		po-ro-ko-wa e-pi-ko-wa qe-te-o	OLE 2 OLE 1 S 1 V 3 OLE 1

[716] Killen 1979: 169; Killen 1988: 182; Shelmerdine 1985: 80. For a more recent interpretation of this term (based on its context in the Thebes sealings) as a description of animals and products in which the administration is interested, see Piteros, Olivier, Melena 1990: 152.

The amounts of oil range from 1-2 whole units, or 28.8 to 59.6 liters. Admittedly, these are not exactly *small* amounts of oil. When compared to the Fp(1) series from the Room of the Clay Chest which records a range of 1.6 to 28.8 liters, the quantities from the Fh series seem quite a bit larger. However, the small amounts listed in Table 7 are distinct from the other tablets of the Fh set, which are exponentially larger. In fact, of all the tablets containing transactional or descriptive terms, only oil given as a benefit (*o-no*) has amounts comparable to what I have termed "possible religious offerings." Based on this evaluation, three different groups based on oil amounts can be summarized as follows: (1) very large quantities[717] recording totals (*to-so*); (2) more moderate amounts[718] recording deficits (*a-pu-do-si*), descriptions of oil (*ne-wo*) or different uses for oil (*zo-a* and *to-ro-qa*); and (3) small amounts,[719] at least some of which may be used for religious purposes (offerings to divinities such as **56-ti* and *si-ja-ma*[or to cult locales like *di-ka-ta* and *da-*83-ja,* as well as the terms *e-pi-ko-wa, po-ro-ko-wa, qe-te-o* and *i-je-ro*). The exceptions, of course, are *o-no* and *ku-pi-ri-jo* oil whose ranges are too varied to comply with any of these groups. However, the purpose of this examination was not to establish categories to which all of the tablets would conform. Rather, this study has demonstrated that "small" amounts of oil can be distinguished from the much larger quantities in a meaningful way. Therefore, we can state with more certainty that in the context of the Fh series a small quantity of oil is 2 whole units or fewer. Now, it is necessary to determine if these small quantities do in fact suggest a religious purpose for this oil.

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717 With oil amounts ranging from OLE 330 S 1 to OLE 339 V 5.
718 With oil amounts ranging from OLE 4 to OLE 83.
719 Less than two whole units of oil.

Given that some of these small quantities may be used for religious purposes, it is worth looking at the other Fh tablets which do not contain a transactional term or description of oil. As mentioned above, many Fh tablets record only the recipient or place name along with the oil amount (see Table 5-6). Many of the place names used by Killen to discuss the distribution of religious offerings occur in these tablets (indicated in bold). It should be noted that, although some of the tablets contain smaller quantities (2 whole units or less), many of these oil amounts are consistent with the amounts from the Fp(1) series (less than a whole unit). This may lend some credence to Killen's proposal that these are locations of cult activity. However, the tenuous nature of the data set and our inability to fully understand these texts does not allow us to be confident in his results. For this reason, I believe that the seven place names identified by Killen as cult locales should be considered tentative.

Table 5-6: Tablets Recording Small Quantities of Oil in Fh series.

Tablet	Recipient	Amount
Fh 5450	]me-no	OLE 2 S 2
Fh 357	***47-so-de**	OLE 2 S 1
Fh 357	**e-ra-de**	OLE 2 V 1
Fh 362	**tu-[ni-ja**[720]	OLE 2 V 2
Fh 342	a-ne-ra-to	OLE 2
Fh 342	do-re-we	OLE 2
Fh 346	a_3-ki-pa-ta	OLE 2
Fh 9077	***56-ti[**	OLE]1 S 1
Fh 344	ka-pa-ri-jo-ne	OLE 1
Fh 356	o-mi-ri-jo-i	OLE 1
Fh 5501	***47-so-de**	OLE 1
Fh 386	ka-ke-we	OLE+[ ] S 1 V 1
Fh 352	de-u-jo-i	OLE S 1

Tablet	Recipient	Amount
Fh 353	**ra-ma-na-de**	OLE S 1
Fh 462	***47-so-de**	OLE S 1
Fh 5505	**me-ra-de**	OLE S 1
Fh 368	du-ru-po	OLE S 1
Fh 345	du-ru-po	OLE V 1
Fh 347	a-ri-to-[ ]-jo	OLE V 1
Fh 365	**da-]*83-ja-de**	OLE V 1
Fh 365	**]da-so-de**	OLE V 1
Fh 462	]si-ja	OLE V 1
Fh 5455	]no	OLE V 1
Fh 351	***47-so-de**	OLE V 3
Fh 462	]si-ja / e-to-wo-ko	OLE V 3
Fh 463	]de	OLE V 3

The last group of terms to address in the Fh series is occupational terms in the dative plural. These include *de-u-jo-i* on Fh 352, *o-mi-ri-jo-i* on Fh 356, and *ru-do-ro-i* on Fh 5498. All of these terms are hapaxes and all are etymologically obscure. Bendall chooses to understand these terms as relating to religion based on parallels with dative plural terms found in PY Fr series.[721] Though numerous occupational terms in the dative plural occur in the Fr series,[722] the interpretation of them as religious functionaries is far from established. Moreover, even if the dative plural terms in the Fr series were accepted as religious occupational terms, it is incautious to use them as a parallel for the terms in

[720] *tu-ni-ja-de* attested on Fh 373.
[721] Bendall 2007: 124.
[722] *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-i, di-pi-si-jo-i, wa-na-so-i,* and *a-pi-qo-ro-i.*

the Fh series, based purely on their case and number. For this reason, I do not include these entries as records of religious offerings.

Despite the difficulties with identifying religious offerings in the Fh and Fp(2) series, some positive information can be gleaned from the *RCB* tablets, as summarized in Table 9 below. A number of divinities identified in other tablet deposits seem to occur here also: *e-ri-nu, *56-ti,* and perhaps *qe-ra-si-ja* and *si-ja-ma*[*-to.* In addition, the *RCB* tablets may attest to two sanctuaries or festivals whose names are related to Knossian month names: *ka-ra-e-i-jo* and *de-u-ki-jo.* At least two cult locales can be identified: *di-ka-ta* and *da-*83-ja.* More tentatively, an additional seven cult locales can be added to the list of possible cult sites. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, we may be able to identify two different types of religious rituals involving oil: "oil that is used for anointing" (*e-pi-ko-wa*) and less likely, "oil that is used for libations" (*po-ro-ko-wa*). Admittedly, this interpretation is based on etymology and supported by the fact that only small quantities of oil are allotted for such purposes. Therefore, this conclusion should also be considered tentative.

Table 5-7: Divinities, Cult Locales and Rituals from the *RCB*

Divinities	**Possible Sanctuaries or Festivals**	**Cult Locales**	**Possible Cult Locales**	**Possible Rituals**
e-ri-nu **56-ti* *qe-ra-si-ja* *si-ja-ma[-to*	*ka-ra-e-ri-jo* *de-u-ki-jo*	*di-ka-ta-de* *da-*83-ja-de*	**47-so-de* *ra-ma-na-de* *e-ra-de* *da-so-de* *tu-ni-ja-de* *]o-na-de* *me-ra-de*	*e-pi-ko-wa* *po-ro-ko-wa*

D. Miscellaneous Tablets from Various Deposits

Most of the Knossos religious tablets were found in one of the three deposits discussed above. Additional tablets containing religious information occur in various parts of the palace. However, they do not form cohesive groups centered on religious offerings, such as the tablets from the Room of the Clay Chest. Rather, their context with numerous "non-religious" texts suggests that administratively their religious significance is incidental. Instead, the contexts of these tablets are similar to the situation in the *RCB* where the primary focus is to record the comings and goings of oil, a few of which happen to be to divinities or religious locales. For the most part, the theonyms, locales and offerings addressed in these texts are consistent with what has already been assessed, though some new information is offered.

1. The Area of the Bull Relief

A very large deposit of tablets was found in the North Entrance Passage area (hereafter, referred to as *NEP*), located just north of the central court (findspots I2, I3 and I3a). Most of the tablets were found in findspot I3, also referred to as the Area of Bull Relief. This deposit is important for the dating of the tablets because numerous LM IIIB double amphorae were found in the same stratum (see discussion above, Chapter 3,

Section II).[723] Since many of these tablets were found in the passageway leading to the Central Court, it was originally believed that they fell from an upper storey. However, the passage appears to have been blocked off at the time of the LM IIIB destruction and was converted into a storage room where Linear B tablets and the LM IIIB amphorae were kept.[724]

Several tablets from the Area of the Bull Relief relate to the religious interests of the palace.[725] Ga 953 is perhaps the most informative:

Ga 953	.1	wo-de-wi̯-jo-jo , / me-n̥o̯ [//]ri-jo-de
	.2	ko-no , *MA* 3 ko-ri̯-[ja-do-no T]2 pa-de-i , ko-no *MA* 2 *KO* T 1[
	.3a	[ ] pa-si-te-o-i ,
	.3b	pa-sa-ja , ko-no , [ ] a-mi-ni-so-de , *MA* 2 *KO* T 4

In the month of *wo-de-wi-jo*,
To [ ]*ri-jo* 3 *ko-no* fennel, 19.2 liters of coriander
For *pa-de* 2 *ko-no* fennel, 9.6 liters of coriander
For *pa-sa-ja* x *ko-no* fennel
To Amnisos, for all the gods 2 (*ko-no*) fennel, 38.4 liters of coriander[726]

In many ways, this tablet is similar to those from the Room of Clay Chest and the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco. It begins with a month name (*wo-de-wi-jo-jo me-no*) which points to its religious context. In addition, it contains the term *pa-si-te-o-i* ("to all the gods") who

[723] Driessen (1999) believes that the tablets from the *NEP* are earlier than the tablets from the Western Magazines. This hypothesis is supported by recent work undertaken by Skelton (2008).
[724] Those favoring an LM IIIA2 date suggest that the tablets were fired in LM IIIA2 and then were shoveled into this area from another to make up a floor level after the destruction (Palmer and Boardman 1963: 48-49). Others posit that they were fired in an early destruction of IIIA2 and then fell into the corridor during the LM IIIB phase (Driessen 1999: 211); such a reconstruction is viable. Driessen has noted that the *NEP* tablets from an archival group (similar to the Archives Complex at Knossos) and therefore were stored together. It is unlikely then that the tablets would have been kept in three different rooms (I2, I3 and I3a); rather they were probably filed together on an upper storey and their distribution among these rooms is a result of having fallen from above.
[725] See Appendix I.E1 for transcriptions of all the religious tablets from this findspot.
[726] The restoration of [*ja-do-no* T] on line 2 follows Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 308.

receives offerings at Amnisos. This tablet records offerings of fennel and coriander, indicated by the ideograms *MA* and *KO,* respectively.[727] *MA* is preceded by the term *ko-no,* which seems to describe a certain type of fennel and precedes the ideographic abbreviation *MA*. On this tablet, *pa-de* (in the dative form *pa-de-i*) receives an allotment of *ko-no* fennel and a quantity of coriander (*KO*).[728] The term *pa-sa-ja* also receives an offering of fennel indicated by *ko-no*. Given its parallel position to *pa-de* and *pa-si-te-o-i, pa-sa-ja* may also be a divinity, one which we have not yet encountered.[729]

In addition to Amnisos, two more cult locales may be attested in this tablet deposit. Two fragmentary F tablets seem to record offerings going to *di-ka-ta*:[730]

F 866		]ṇi-jo / di-ka-ta-de *NI* 10 ma-ṣạ[
F 7509	.1	] di-ka-ta-de [
	.2	]rọ PYC+*O* 6̣ [

F 866 records allotments of figs (*NI*) and F 7509 quantities of cyperus (PYC+*O*). *di-ka-ta* is a known cult place found on Fp 7. Unfortunately, no other information on *these* tablets can confirm the identification of *di-ka-ta* as a cult locale. However, the place name *ma-sa* found on F 866 is also attested on Ga 1058. This tablet is discussed in more detail below, but its occurrence with *di-ka-ta-de* suggests that *ma-sa* was the location of a

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[727] *MA* is an abbreviation for *ma-ra-tu-wo* (/*marathwon*/corresponding to the Ancient Greek μάραθον) meaning "fennel" and *KO* is an abbreviation for *ko-ri-ja-do-no* (/*korihadnon*/ corresponding to Ancient Greek κορίανδρον) meaning "coriander" (Aura Jorro 1985: 382-383 and 424-425).

[728] *pa-de* also occurs on Ga 456. Though fragmentary, it is shows that *pa-de* receives an offering of cypress.

[729] *pa-sa-ja* may also be attested on Ga 5672 where the word for month (*me-no*) occurs. The findspot for this tablet is unknown. See Appendix I.E6.

[730] *di-ka-ta-de* also occurs on a fragmentary tablet (X 7955) whose findspot is unknown. See Appendix I.E6.

religious festival (see Section II.E). Therefore, both *di-ka-ta* and *ma-sa* could be functioning as cult places on F 866, especially since their only other attestations are in religious contexts.

E 842 may contain the name of Zeus in the genitive case (*di-wo*):

E 842	.1a	di-wo[
	.1b	]ra , te-o-i / me-a-de [
	.2	]ǫḷḭ̣ 24 T 4 ṗẏç [ ] T 2 me-na GRA 2 T 4̣[
	.3	]pe-ro$_2$-[ ] 2 T 4 ki-da-ro GRA 2̣1[ ] .tǫ-so GRA [

This tablet is fragmentary so it is uncertain if *di-wo* is complete.[731] It was written above the place name *me-a-de,* and should be considered part of line .1.[732] The term *te-o-i* ("to the gods") shows that this tablet pertains to religion, but exactly how Zeus is related is unknown. The commodity being brought to the gods (and perhaps to Zeus?) is not preserved, though if the other entries are also religious, we could identify olives (OLIV), cyperus (PYC) and grain (GRA) as additional types of offerings.

It has been suggested that *me-na* could also be a theonym, though alternative explanations have been offered. As a divinity, *me-na* would stands for /*Mēnā*/ or the "Moon" Goddess.[733] It could also be an accusative singular for the word month /*mēna*/.[734] Melena has posited that it is a toponym based on its position in the Fs series.[735] To determine which interpretation is most likely, it is worth examining other

[731] If incomplete, *di-wo*[could also be a month name (Melena 1974: 316) or a personal name.
[732] *me-a-de* could be graphic variant of *me-ra-de,* a place name on Fh 5505 which Killen believes is a cult locale (Killen 1987: 163ff.).
[733] Boardman and Palmer 1963: 234.
[734] Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 560. Most recently, Killen (forthcoming) has proposed that it is a nominative of the rubric for /*mēns*/ with a "dummy" vowel added to the last syllable.
[735] Melena 1974: 316.

attestations of *me-na* in the Linear B corpus. *me-na* occurs on Fs 3 from the Room of the Clay Chest and Gg 717 from the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco,[736] transcribed below:

Fs 3	.A	HORD T 1 *NI* V 3
	.B	a-*65-ma-na-ke / me-na FAR V 1 OLE Z 1
Gg 717	.1	] , me-na , pa-si-te-o̩[-i
	.2	]si̩-da-o-ne , *ME+RI* [

On Gg 717, *me-na* does not seem to be a recipient because it immediately precedes *pa-si-te-o-i,* in much the same way that *a-mi-ni-so* precedes *pa-si-te-o-i* on Fp 1. Therefore, it could not be a theonym in this context, though *me-na* works well as a place name where "all the gods" are honored. However, it could be functioning as the word for month in accusative case, assuming it was preceded by a month name. Unfortunately, the left side of this tablet is missing, so a month name is not preserved. It should be noted, however, that the occurrence of "month" in the accusative case would not be otherwise attested in the Linear B tablets, making this interpretation unlikely. Melena believes that *me-na* is a toponym because in the Fs series it occurs in the same position as the place name *o-ja-de* on Fs 9. Even on E 842, *me-na* could easily function as a place name similar to *me-a-de.* This interpretation works for all three occurrences of *me-na,* and therefore seems to be the most likely.

The last tablets from the Area of the Bull Relief to discuss do not concern religious offerings made to divinities. Rather, they record flocks of animals belonging to

[736] See above Chapter 5, Sections II.A and II.B.

gods. D 411 records 60 female sheep (OVIS F) and 30 yearlings (*WE*) belonging to *e-ma-a$_2$*.

D 411 di-ko-to / e-ma-a$_2$-o OVIS^{f} 60 *WE* 30 [

e-ma-a$_2$ is generally interpreted as *'Ερμάhας*, or the Attic *'Ερμῆς*, referring specifically to the god Hermes.[737] *e-ma-a$_2$* is also attested in religious contexts three times on tablets from Pylos and once on a Theban text.[738] Here, *e-ma-a$_2$* occurs in the genitive, denoting the ownership of the flock that is being managed by a man named *di-ko-to*. In addition to *e-ma-a$_2$,* several tablets account for sheep and wool belonging to the goddess Potnia (Appendix I.E1). The most complete tablet is transcribed below:

Dl(1) 946 .A po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo OVIS^{f} 70 LANA 7
.B ke-u-sa / si-ja-du-we *o ki* OVIS^{m} 70 *o* LANA 7

.A Belonging to Potnia
.B *ke-u-sa*: At *si-ja-du-we* 70 ewes 7 whole units of wool
deficit of 70 *ki*-rams, deficit of 7 whole units of wool

All of the Dl tablets follow a standard formula for recording information. Line .A records the name of the collector, a palatial elite seemingly responsible for collecting goods for the palace. The collector's name is followed by a quantity of sheep (OVIS) and units of wool (LANA). Line .B begins with the name of the shepherd written in majuscule and the name of the place where the flock is kept. Following the toponym, additional accounts of sheep and wool are recorded either as a deficit (*o*) and/or as a sheep of a different type (*ki.*) The tablets that record flocks and wool belonging to Potnia deviate

[737] The etymology of the divine name is quite complicated. For a full discussion, see Gulizio 2000.
[738] PY Tn 316, Un 219, Na 1357 and TH Of 31.

slightly from this format: *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo,* an adjectival form meaning "belonging to Potnia," occurs in Line .A instead of the collector. The rest of the tablets are consistent. Therefore, on Dl 946 *ke-u-sa* is the shepherd and the flock is located at *si-ja-du-we.*[739] Thus, it seems clear that, although the D tablets do not record offerings to *po-ti-ni-ja* and *e-ma-a*$_2$, they do attest to their existence in Mycenaean religion on Crete. In addition, these tablets demonstrate that religious institutions may have played a significant role in the economy.[740]

Based on this evaluation, several divinities can be identified in the tablets from the Area of the Bull Relief. Many of these theonyms are attested in other Knossos texts with the exception of Hermes and the collective *te-o-i.* In addition, evidence for a number of cult locales exists. Cult places not attested elsewhere at Knossos are *ma-sa, me-a-de* and possibly]*ri-jo-de.*[741] Finally, several types of foodstuffs are offered to these divinities or sent to these cult places. Table 5-8 summarizes these findings.

[739] *si-ja-du-we* is the most common place name occurring with Potnia sheep, though she also has flocks at *qa-nwa-so* (Dl 943), *ka-ru-no* (Dl 7147) and *ra-ja* (Dl 7771). Hiller suggests that a cult of *po-ti-ni-ja* existed at *si-ja-du-we,* though I do think that is necessarily the case.
[740] Lupack 2002.
[741]]*ri-jo-de* may be *ki-ri-jo-de* attested in the Fs series.

Table 5-8: Divinities, Cult Places and Offerings from the *NEP*

Divinities		**Cult Locales**		**Possible Cult Places**	**Offerings**	
pa-de		]*ri-jo-de*		*me-na*	*NI*	Figs
pa-si-te-o-i	All the Gods	*a-mi-ni-so-de*	Amnisos		PYC	Cyperus
pa-sa-ja		*di-ka-ta-de*	Dikte		OLIV	Olives
te-o-i	The Gods	*ma-sa*			GRA	Grain
e-ma-a$_2$	Hermes	*me-a-de*			*MA*	Fennel
po-ti-ni-ja	Potnia				*KO*	Coriander
di-wo[?	Zeus?					

2. The West Magazines

Linear B tablets from the West Magazines were found in several different deposits. The following three contained religious texts: (1) Magazine 3 and related deposits (findspot F2); (2) Magazines 4 and 5 (findspots F3 and F4); and Magazines 6-10 and the adjacent corridor (findspots F5-F9 and F16-F18). Some of the tablets from Magazine 3 were found in a matrix of burnt wood and ash and may have been stored in a wooden box.[742] Most of the texts from this deposit are records of sheep and sheep's wool.[743] Two tablets contain religious information:

X 444]sa / po-ti-ni-ja[

X 451 .1 si-ja-ma-to[
.2 pa-sa-ja[

[742] Firth 2000-2001: 169.

[743] Approximately 7 tablets concern miscellaneous subjects (Ga 673, K 700, Lc 446, X 410, 443, 451 and 1802). See Appendix I.E2 for transcriptions of the religious tablets from this findspot.

Given their fragmentary condition, it is unclear how (if at all) these tablets relate to the sheep tablets from this findspot.[744] However, they confirm the presence of three divinities already known from other deposits: *po-ti-ni-ja, si-ja-ma-ṭọ*[, and *pa-sa-ja.*[745]

An unusual group of tablets were unearthed in Magazines 4 and 5. Only 26 tablets were found here and they cover a wide variety of subjects, including spices, cloth, oil and sheep.[746] One tablet records an offering of cyperus (PYC) to the divinity *pa-de*:

Ga 456	.1	]2 pa-de , PYC T[
	.2	] [[ṿạ-du-ri-[ ]] [

The archaeological context suggests that Magazine 4 was not in use during the destruction that baked the other tablets from the West Magazines. For this reason, Firth has posited that these tablets may not be part of the larger archive from this area. Rather, they are probably "the remains of archives from previous years."[747]

A large deposit of texts was found in Magazines 6-10 and the adjacent corridor. Again, various commodities are recorded (personnel, spices, honey, cloth, wool and the unidentified ideogram **168(+SE)*. Of particular importance are two tablets written by the Hand 135 that may attest to a divinity not mentioned in the tablets already discussed.

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744 Melena believes X 444 related to sheep clipping (as cited by Firth 2000-2001: 172).

745 *po-ti-ni-ja* from Gallery of the Jewel Fresco (Section II.B), *si-ja-ma-to* from the Room of the Clay Chest (Section II.A) and the *RCB* (Section II.C) and *pa-sa-ja* from Area of the Bull Relief (Section II.D1). A further discussion of the divine nature of these terms based on their overall context in the tablets is provided below (Section II.E).

746 Firth 2000-2001: 173-175.

747 Firth 2000-2001: 174. If this is the case, then these tablets should not be considered part of the Group A tablets as Firth has defined them. It should be noted, however, the religious information provided in the tablets from Magazines 4 and 5 is consistent with other Group A tablets.

Ga 674	.a	] pe-ma
	.b	]ṃą-ri-ne-we, / ko-ri-ja-do-no , AROM 10
	.a	In seed grain
	.b	For *Marineus,* coriander 10 whole units
Gg 713		ma-ri-ne-we , do-e-ra *'ME+RI' *209*^{VAS}*+A* [
		For *Marineus*, the servant X amphora of honey

The possible divinity in question here is *ma-ri-ne-we,* which seems to be the masculine name /*Marineus*/ in the dative singular.[748] Whether this name is in fact a theonym is debatable. Arguments in favor of a divine name rely on the context of *ma-ri-ne-u* on KN As 1519 and its similarities with tablets of the Of series from Thebes.[749]

As 1519	.0	*supra mutila*	
	.1	]	VIR 1
	.2	i-we-ro	VIR 1
	.3	ne-o-to	VIR 1
	.4	qa-ti-ja	VIR 1
	.5	o-pi-si-jo	VIR 1
	.6	pa-ja-ro	VIR 1
	.7	ki-ke-ro	VIR 1
	.8	i-to	VIR 1
	.9-10	*vacant*	
	.11	ṃą-ri-ne-wo , wo-i-ko-de	
	.12	to-so	VIR 10
	.13-14	*vacant*	
	.15	*infra mutila*	

As 1519 from the Hall of the Colonnade (findspot J2) records the names of 8 men (one of which on line .1 does not survive), followed by the ideogram for man and the number 1. However, the number of men totals 10 (line .12); it is likely that this tablet is broken at

[748] This name may be partially preserved on Ga 7594 also from Magazines 6-10. See Appendix I.E6.

[749] *ma-ri-ne-u* may also occur on a tablet from Mycenae (X 508). Though this tablet is fragmentary and difficult to interpret, it is interesting that the site of Thebes is mentioned (*te-qa-de*).

the top and two or more lines are missing. On line .11, *ma-ri-ne-u* occurs in the genitive case followed by the term *wo-i-ko-de* meaning "to the house."[750] This tablet seems to account for a total (*to-so*) of 10 men that are somehow connected to the house of *Marineus*. A variant of *wo-i-ko* and a derivative of *ma-ri-ne-u* are found on tablets from Thebes.[751]

Of 35	.1	ko-ma-we-te-ja , te-pe-ja ,	*ku* LANA 1
	.2	]ma-ri-ne-we-ja-i , a-ki-a_2-ri-ja-de	*ku* LANA 3
	.1	For the female servants of *Komawens* at *te-pe-ja*? 1 unit of *ku*-wool	
	.2	For the female servants of *Marineus* to *a-ki-a_2-i-ja* 3 units of *ku*-wool	
Of 36	.1	no-ri-wo-ki-de	*ku* LANA 1 a-ke-ti-ra_2 , wa-na-ka[
	.2	po-ti-ni-ja , wo-ko-de , a-ke-ti-ra_2	*ku* LANA 1 [
	.1	To *no-ri-wo-ki* 1 unit of *ku* LANA; the finishing women, (for?) the king	
	.2	To the house of Potnia, the finishing women 1 unit of *ku* LANA	

Line .2 of Of 35 records *ma-ri-ne-we-ja-i,* a feminine dative plural form derived from *ma-ri-ne-u.* It is interpreted as "the female servants of *Marineus*," who receives disbursements of wool at the site of *a-ki-a_2-re-ja-d*e. Of 36 records offerings of wool being brought "to the house of Potnia" (*po-ti-ni-ja wo-ko-de*). Also attested in the Thebes Of series is the term *do-de;* that is, */dō/* + the allative *de*, also meaning "to the house."[752] By comparing the use of *do-de* and *wo-ko-de* in the Of series,[753] Chadwick postulates that the Mycenaean *wo-ko-de* (an alternate spelling for *wo-i-ko-de*) implies "to the house of a deity," as opposed to the house of a human being which is expressed by

[750] Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 592: /*woikonde*/ (Classical Greek οἶκονδε). A variant *wo-ko-de* is found on tablets from Thebes.
[751] Transcriptions are taken from Melena and Olivier 1991. Translations are my own.
[752] TH Of 26, 31 and 33.
[753] TH Of 36: *wo-ko-de* on this tablet represents the same form as *wo-i-ko-de* attested on KN As 1519.11 (Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975: 89).

the term *do-de*.[754] However, in only a few instances can the name preceding *do-de* clearly be identified as a human being[755] and the only instance where *wo-ko-de* certainly precedes a theonym is on Of 36.[756] Therefore, to identify *ma-ri-ne-u* as a divinity based on a single example of *wo-ko* (and how it is used at a *different* site[757]) is tenuous.[758] Killen (1983: 75) has suggested that *ma-ri-ne-u* is an individual and that the *e-ja-i* ending on *ma-ri-ne-we-ja-i* is the dative plural of a possessive adjective meaning "the women (workers) of Marineus.[759] He interprets *ma-ri-ne-u* as a personal name referring to the name of a collector, a palatial elite.[760] His arguments are supported by the common use of the *–e-jo / e-ja* possessive adjectival suffix used on numerous collectors' names including *ko-ma-we-te-ja* (derived from *ko-ma-we*[761]) on Of 35 and *pu$_2$-ke-qi-ri-ne-ja* (derived from *pu$_2$-ke-qi-ri*[762]) on Of 25.

Given the debate, it is best to examine in more detail the context of the Knossos tablets attesting to *ma-ri-ne-we*. Ga 674 is one of several spice (Ga) tablets by Hand 135 from the same findspot. Seven of these tablets record allotments of coriander and three

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754 Hiller, however, argues the opposite (1981a: 103-105).

755 *di-u-ja-wo , do-de* on Of 26, where *di-u-ja-wo* may be interpreted as the "priests of Diwia" (Ruijgh 1967: 130 and n.155; *o-*34-ta-o* , *do-de* on Of 33, where *o-*34-ta-o* may be a masculine appellative as attested on PY An 519. The interpretation of the fragmentary [ ]-*de-wa-o* , *do-de* on Of 26 is uncertain.

756 *po-ti-ni-ja wo-ko-de* on TH Of 36.

757 Though, the attestation of this term at Thebes is also in reference to textiles, making its comparison with these tablets more relevant.

758 Killen (1983: 75) has suggested that *ma-ri-ne-u* is an individual and that the *e-ja-i* ending on *ma-ri-ne-we-ja-i* is the dative plural of a possessive adjective meaning "the women (workers) of Marineus. Hiller (1981a), however, refutes this interpretation and favors interpreting *ma-ri-ne-u* as a theonym.

759 Killen 1985: 75. For an opposing view, see Hiller 1981a.

760 Killen's adjectival endings article. Foster 1975. Get article and full citation.

761 A collector's name on KN Dv 5278 among other D-series tablets. The personal name also occurs at Pylos, see Aura Jorro 1985-1999: I, 374 for all tablets attesting to this name.

762 A palatial elite on PY Ta 711.

list disbursements of cyperus.[763] We have seen quantities of coriander offered to divinities on Ga 953 from the Area of the Bull Fresco. However, all coriander and cyperus allotments written by Hand 135 are given to human recipients, including the king himself (*wa-na-ka-te* on Ga 675).[764] Hand 135 is also responsible for five Gg tablets disbursing amphorae of honey. Three of these tablets are too fragmentary to be useful.[765] Gg 713, transcribed and translated above, records an amphora of honey disbursed to the servant of *Marineus.*[766] Amphorae of honey as religious offerings are attested on tablets from the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco, which may suggest that this too is an offering tablet. Unfortunately, the other honey tablet by Hand 135 is uninformative: Ga 995 allots honey to *ma-ki-ro-ne* which is a hapax. Thus, based on tablets by Hand 135 from Magazines 6-10, little internal evidence exists to securely identify *ma-ri-ne-we* as a god.

All of the divinities encountered in the West Magazines also occur on other Knossos texts. This should not be surprising considering the interconnections between

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[763] Coriander tablets by Hand 135: Ga 674-677, 679-680 and 684; Cyperus tablets by Hand 135: Ga 517-519.

[764] Interestingly, Ga 675 contains the only secure attestation of *wa-na-ka-te* in the Knossos tablets. Portions of this term occur on fragmentary tablets (Vc 73 and Vd 136), but these could be the beginning of personal names. The adjectival form *wa-na-ka-te-ro* only occurs three times (X 976, Le 654, Lc 525). I think this may be interesting from a politico-religious point of view, especially in comparison to PY where wanax and its derivatives are very common. My initial thoughts are that at Pylos the king would want to stress his religious and/or ancestral role as a ruler, perhaps to such an extent that the king was considered a descendent of the god (and may be even honored as a god?). Such a stance would be inappropriate on Crete (and maybe even insulting to Cretan religious ideas?) so a role of this sort for the king is not pursued. Rather, emphasis is placed on local divinities so Mycenaean rulers could better assimilate to Cretan culture and in return be more readily accepted by the local population.

[765] Gg 5184, 7371 and 7372.

[766] The term *do-e-ro/ra* occurs with both servants of divinities and human servants, so does not help with the interpretation. A servant of the god (*te-o do-e-ro*) is attested on KN Ai 966 and human servant on KN Ap 628 (*a-ke-wo do-e-ro*). *a-ke-wo* occurs on other Knossos tablets where its identification as an anthroponym is secure, especially V 60 which is a catalogue of personal names.

the Magazines and the other findspots in the western part of the palace.[767] Table 5-9 summarizes the divinities and offerings attested in the West Magazines. I have included *ma-ri-ne-we* as a possible theonym, though as discussed above, I believe that the evidence to support his divinity is weak.

Table 5-9: Divinities and Offerings from the West Magazines

Divinities		**Possible Divinities**	**Offerings**		**Possible Offerings**	
po-ti-ni-ja	Potnia	*ma-ri-ne-we*	PYC	Cyperus	AROM	Coriander
pa-sa-ja					*ME+RI*	Honey
pa-de						
si-ja-ma-to						

3. The Area of the Clay Signet

The only other tablet written by Hand 135 was found in the Area of the Clay Signet (findspot K), located in rooms south of the Central Court. Unlike his other tablets, Ga 1058 is interpreted as religious:[768]

Ga 1058 te-o-po-ri-ja / ma-sa PYC T 1

This tablet records an offering of cyperus (PYC) being brought to a place called *ma-sa* which, along with *di-ka-ta-de,* is attested on F 866 from the Area of the Bull Relief (see

[767] By interconnections, I am referring to scribes who wrote tablets from different findspots and/or identical sealings found in different areas of the western section.
[768] For a complete list of tablets from this findspot and their transcriptions, see Appendix I.E3.

Section IV.A3:a). The occasion of the offering is believed to be a festival called the *te-o-po-ri-ja*, meaning something like "the carrying of the gods."[769] Based on its etymology, this festival probably involved a procession in which images of the gods were carried from one place to another, perhaps from Knossos to *ma-sa.*[770] This interpretation is supported by iconographic evidence from frescoes depicting such ritual activities.[771] However, it is more likely that *ma-sa* is a dative/locative form and that this tablet records PYC that is "for the *te-o-po-ri-ja* at *ma-sa.*" The fact that Hand 135 does deal with religious matters may lend some support to the divinity of *ma-ri-ne-u,* though a strong case cannot be made based on single tablet which is from a different findspot and counter to his other (non-religious) tablets.

Ga 1058 is the only tablet from the Area of Clay Signet that contains religious information. 13 other tablets are assigned to this area: 9 deal with sheep and wool records,[772] 3 record small quantities of oil[773] and one is a list of Knossian *e-qe-ta* totaling 213 men.[774] Together, these seem to be an unusual assortment of tablets and little can be said with certainty about their relation to each other. However, some connection between the *te-o-po-ri-ja* and the manufacturing textiles made of wool may exist, considering the

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[769] /*Theophoriā*/ Classical Greek θεοφορία.

[770] This interpretation is supported by iconographic evidence from frescoes depicting such ritual activities.

[771] A fresco fragment from Tiryns seems to depict the lower part of a terracotta figurine in the hands of an individual (Rodenwaldt 1912: pl. X, 2; Immerwahr 1990: 114 and fig. 33b).

[772] KN Dl 1060, 2021, 8216, and 8229, Dp 1061, 2004, and 5508 and Od 1061 and 1063.

[773] KN Fh 1056, 1057 and 1059.

[774] KN B 1055. *e-qe-ta* (/*heq*^{w}*etās*/) means something like "followers" and refers to important officers of the palace administration (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 544; Deger-Jalkotzy 1978).

context of *te-o-po-ri-ja* attested on Od 696 at Knossos. This tablet is discussed in more detail below.

4. The Northwest Passage (Magazine 13)[775]

te-o-po-ri-ja also occurs on a tablet from the area of the Northwest Passage next to Magazine 13 (findspot F 19):[776]

Od 696 .1]e-pi-ro-pa-ja , / o-du-we 'te-o-po-ri-ja' M 2 [
.2] LANA 2 M 1
.3 *vacat*

Since this tablet is fragmentary, it is difficult to interpret with certainty. The term *o-du-we* is a hapax and could be a place name or personal name.[777] The term *e-pi-ro-pa-ja* (/*epilōpē*/) is perhaps the most informative and seems to mean something like "an attachment to a cloak".[778] Along with the attestation of wool (LANA) in line .2, *e-pi-ro-pa-ja* suggests that this tablet has something to do with the production and/or distribution of garments in connection with the *te-o-po-ri-ja* festival. This is interesting considering the presence of Ga 1058 in a tablet deposit concerned with sheep and wool. All of the other tablets from the Northwest Corridor are associated with the textile industry.[779] Four

775 For a complete list of tablets from this findspot, see Appendix I.E4.
776 Also referred to as Magazine 13.
777 *o-du-we* could also be a scribal error for the place name *o-du-ru-we*, a well-known Cretan place name (Lejeune 1958:339).
778 Killen 1979: 162 and 173. A similar formation may be seen on L 693 in the term *e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja* which may mean something like "an attachment to a tunic," see Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 321 and 487-488. Interestingly, L 693 is from the same findspot as Od 696.
779 For a complete list of tablets from this findspot, see Firth 2000-2001: 230.

are L-series tablets that record different types of cloth and garments, along with the names of workers specifically connected to the manufacture of textiles.[780] In addition, a personnel record (Ap 694) lists the titles of women workers, two of which are associated with making cloth (*ko-u-re-ja* and *a-ze-ti-ri-ja*). The fact that the only two tablets containing the term *te-o-po-ri-ja* occur in deposits recording sheep, wool and garments suggests some connection between the *te-o-po-ri-ja* and textiles, though it is difficult to say exactly what the relationship is. It is possible that garments were distributed to various officials (perhaps the *e-qe-ta* on B 1055) to wear during the festival. Given that the *te-o-po-ri-ja* may involve a procession of images of gods, perhaps the cloths and garments were meant to adorn these statues. The scanty nature of the tablets from these two deposits does not allow us to confirm either of these hypotheses and unfortunately raises more questions than answers.

5. The Arsenal

The last group of tablets to be addressed is from an area outside of the palace proper called the Arsenal, located to the northwest along the Royal Road. Approximately 80 inscribed tablets were found in a basement magazine of this building, apparently fallen from above. Along with the tablets were two deposits of arrows, remains of wooden boxes (probably for the storage of the tablets) and three inscribed sealings (Ws 1704,

[780] L 693, 695, 698 and Ld 595. L 693 is an unusual text. Though it contains the terms *ri-no re-po-to* ("fine linen"), *ki-to* ("cloak") and *e-pi-ki-to-ni-ja* (which must related to the Greek χίτων or "cloak"), it also contains the ideogram for bronze (AES). It is uncertain if the cloak is made of bronze or if the bronze represents the weight or value of the cloak (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 320; Heubeck 1986).

1705 and 8495). A majority of the tablets record various types of weaponry and materials for chariot making, giving the building its appropriate name. The tablets take account of arrows (SAG) and spears in the R series and two types of chariots (CURR and CAPS) and their wheels (ROTA) in the Sd, Sf and So series, respectively. Among these documents are three tablets of the Mc series, one of which attests to the theonym *a-re:*[781]

Mc 4462 .A ‘]ra-wo-qo-no’ **150* 61 CAP^{f} 30 [
.B ti-]ri-to / a-re **150* 1 **142* M 26 CORN 52[

Four different ideograms occur on the Mc tablets, all of which are related to goats. **150* and CAP^{f}, which occur on line .A, are interpreted in this context as raw skins from male and female goats.[782] **142* may refer to the tendons of these animals and CORN represents the goats’ horns. All of these commodities “seem to be records of raw-materials needed in chariot building and temporarily stored in the Arsenal.”[783] In addition, two words usually occur on these tablets: a personal name, probably a collector, on line .A (in this case *ra-wo-qo-no*) and a place name written in majuscule on line .B (*ti-ri-to*).[784] Mc

[781] For all religious tablets from this findspot, see Appendix I.E5.
[782] **150* seems to represent the *agrimi*, a Cretan goat (Melena 1972: 40-42).
[783] Melena 1972: 54.
[784] The formula for recording is very standardized in this series. Only three tablets deviate from this layout (Mc 4462, 4454 and 4459). As noted by Olivier (1967a: 331), these may be the names of collectors and the name of this collector is also found in the D series at Knossos. It should be noted that, unlike Mc 4454 and 4462, Mc 4459 does not record an additional quantity of **150*. It has been assumed that the additional entry of **150* 1 on Mc 4453 was meant to round out the amount of **150* from 29 to 30, but as Melena states, “the parallel entry occurs on Mc 4462, where *ra-wo-qo-no* appears to be a collector and the amount of **150* is not rounded out (i.e. 61+1=62) and there is no evidence in the whole set for a tendency toward even numbers.” (1967: 33).

4462 differs from the other Mc tablets because it has the added name *a-re* and an additional quantity of **150* on the second line.[785]

a-re is also attested in the Fp series where it is generally accepted as a theonym corresponding to the god Ares.[786] However, some doubt exists as to whether *a-re* is a theonym or an anthroponym on Mc 4462.[787] I have argued elsewhere that *a-re* in this series should be read as a divine name. Some points should be reiterated here.[788] Two other tablets contain an additional word on line .B, one of which appears to be a personal name, providing an analogy for *a-re.*[789] As Killen points out, this entry is not exactly parallel to Mc 4462 in that it does not list an extra quantity of **150*. He suggests that the extra quantity of **150* may reflect an amount of this commodity that will be set aside to be offered to Ares.[790] Furthermore, it would not be unusual for *a-re*, as a theonym for Ares, the god of war in Classical Greek religion, to be present for whatever reason on a tablet in an archive associated with weapons and chariot-making, given the obvious connections between weapons and chariots to warfare.[791]

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[785] The only other tablet that does this is Mc 4464 where the sign *da* is listed before **150*. Olivier (1967a) has proposed that *da* may be an abbreviation for the name of the collector *da-wo-no* listed on this tablet. Although possible, it seems unlikely given that the two other tablets Mc 4462 and 4459, record names on the second line that are different from that of the collector on the first line.

[786] The original root of Ares is difficult to determine because the complicated inflection of his name suggests that there were several stems from which the various cases were formed. Ruijgh (1967: 88) has proposed that Ares is based on three different stems: (1) /*Arē*/ - as in the accusative Ἄρην, (2) /*Are*(*s*)- as in the vocative Ἄρες; and (3) /*Arew*/ as in the genitive Ἄρηος. He believes that in Mycenaean Greek the stem /*Arē*/ is attested in the theonym *a-re.*

[787] Aura Jorro (1985 and 1993: 96) interprets *a-re* on Mc 4462 as a masculine anthroponym.

[788] Gulizio 2000a and 2001.

[789] Cf. *qe-wa-ra* on Mc 4459.

[790] Killen forthcoming.

[791] It should be noted that there is no direct evidence in the Linear B tablets suggesting that *a-re* in the Bronze Age was a warlike divinity. However, the only real characteristic of Ares in the historical period is

One other crucial argument in favor of interpreting *a-re* as a theonym: it seems more than unusual in the Linear B texts, and in theophorics in the Classical Greek period, for a man to have the same name as a god. Greek anthroponyms based on a divine name are rarely, if ever, the name of the god himself. So it seems unlikely that on Mc 4462 *a-re* could refer to a man with the same name as the god Ares. This argument may allow us to identify one additional divinity from the Arsenal.

The name *si-ja-ma-to* appears on U 4478, among a list of personal names (see Appendix I.E5). I have identified this name as divine based on its occurrence on Fp 48 from the Room of the Clay Chest. It also occurs on a fragmentary tablet (X 451) from Magazine 3, along with the divinity *pa-sa-ja.*[792] However, since all of the other names listed on U 4478 are anthroponyms, scholars believe that *si-ja-ma-to* too must be a mortal man. As noted above, it would be unusual for a human to have the same exact name as a god. If we consider *si-ja-ma-to* to be theonym, his divine status may be reflected by his placement on this tablet.[793] *si-ja-ma-to* is listed first on U 4478. It is possible that he is, in a sense, given pride of place and therefore may have a higher status than the other individuals on the tablet. Such hierarchical organization is clearly evidenced on tablets from Pylos, including PY Un 718 which records offerings that will be given to the god

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that of a warrior god and there is little evidence to suggest that he served a wider function in Greek religion or assumed other characteristics. In this respect, Ares is quite different from the other Olympian gods, who often exhibit a wide variety of functions and epithets.

[792] Identified as a theonym by its attestation in a position parallel to *pa-si-te-o-i* on Ga 953 from Magazines 6-10.

[793] I have made similar arguments for the occurrence of *e-ma-a*$_2$ on Na 1357 at Pylos (Gulizio 2000 and 2000a).

Poseidon by *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo*, *da-mo* and *ra-wa-ke-ta*. *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo*, who is listed first on the tablet gives a substantially larger amount of offerings than *da-mo* and *ra-wa-ke-ta*, and similarly the *da-mo*, who is listed second, offers more to Poseidon than *ra-wa-ke-ta*.[794] Of course, on Un 718 it is not the recipients of the goods who are being heirarchically arranged, but the individuals who are providing the goods. Perhaps a better comparison can perhaps be seen on KN Fp 1,[795] where Diktaian Zeus is listed first, followed by number of other divinities and sanctuaries and the very last entry is the mortal recipient *a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja* ("priestess of the winds").

If such a hierarchical structure can be assumed for U 4478, coupled with the fact that *si-ja-ma-to* can reasonably be interpreted as a divinity on other Knossos tablets, it is better to propose that his function on these tablet is the same as on other tablets, i.e that of a deity, and that on U 4478 his divine status is reflected by his position as the first entry on this tablet. If this is the case, both *a-re* and *si-ja-ma-to* were recipients of offerings in the tablets from the Arsenal. These results are summarized in Table 5-10.

Table 5-10: Divinities and Offerings from the Arsenal

Divinities		**Offerings**	
a-re	Ares	**150*	Goat skin
si-ja-ma-to		**177*	?

[794] The hierarchical relationship between these three figures is evidenced on other tablets including PY Er 312 to the extent that *e-ke-ra$_2$-wo* seems to have a higher social ranking than *da-mo* and *ra-wa-ke-ta*.
[795] See above Chapter 5, Section II.A and Appendix I.B.

E. Interpretation of the Textual Evidence

Based on my analysis of the Linear B evidence, much can be said with confidence about Mycenaean religion on Crete during Phase II. Several divinities and cult places can be identified, as well as different types of offerings made to them. My interpretation of the evidence does not end here. As mentioned above (Chapter 3, Section II), all of the Knossos tablets from this phase may not be contemporary, which prompted my examination of the texts by findspot. This approach allowed us to interpret the religious tablets within the immediate context of the other texts with which they were most closely associated.[796] Such an assessment, however, can only get us so far. A contextual look at the tablets within the greater corpus of the Knossos tablets is very illuminating. As discussed, most of the Knossos tablets can be combined into three groups based on scribal hand and palm print connections.[797] One of these groups is the *RCT* tablets dating to Phase I (and discussed in Chapter 4), whereas Groups A and B belong to Phase II. By examining the religious tablets within these larger groups (Groups A and B), an overall picture of Mycenaean religion at Knossos can be envisioned. Unfortunately, Firth could not confidently fit the tablets from the Room of the Clay Chest and the *RCB* into either of these groups, so they will be addressed separately.

[796] It is also better analyze the religious tablets in the subsets in which they were presumably stored.
[797] Chapter 3, Sections II and III.

1. Interpretation of Tablets from the Room of the Clay Chest and the RCB

Several divinities can be securely identified on tablets from the Room of the Clay Chest; they are listed in the Table 5-11 below.

Table 5-11: Divinities from the Room of Clay Chest[798]

Understandable in Greek		*Obscure Divinities*
di-ka-ta-jo di-we	Diktaean Zeus	*pi-pi-tu-na*
a-re	Ares	**56-ti*
e-ri-nu	Erinys)	*pa-de*
a-ne-mo (i-je-re-ja)	(Priestess of the) Winds	*qe-ra-si-ja*
pa-si-te-o-i	All the Gods	*si-ja-ma-to*

The divinities in the left-hand column are understandable in terms of Greek. Three of them, *a-re, e-ri-nu,* and *a-ne-mo,* do not receive offerings on any of the tablets from the mainland. At the very least, this suggests that some deities who are important on Crete may not be as significant in mainland cults. Only one of these gods, *di-we,* is attested outside of Crete and has a clear IE etymology.[799] Interestingly, this divinity in the Fp series is qualified by the local epithet, "Diktaean" which may suggest some kind of religious syncretism of Minoan and Mycenaean cults.[800] The column on the right lists theonyms which defy a reasonable Greek interpretation: *pi-pi-tu-na, *56-ti, pa-de, qe-ra-si-ja* and *si-ja-ma-to*. I believe that these divinities may represent local or even Minoan

[798] Only terms whose identifications as divinities and place names are fairly certain (based on context and scholarly consensus) are included in these lists. When possible, translations of the terms are provided.
[799] *a-ne-mo* also has an IE etymology but this term seems to be used here as a personified divinity, so this does not mean that the divinity must be IE in origin.
[800] Hägg 1997.

deities that are being honored by the Mycenaean rulers of Knossos.[801] The basis for this argument is that these theonyms are unattested on tablets from the Greek mainland *and* they exhibit features of the Minoan language.

Although Linear A and Cretan Hieroglyphic (scripts used to write the Minoan language) are still undeciphered, certain Minoan linguistic features can be identified by examining the signs and sign sequences on the Linear A tablets in comparison to those on the Linear B documents. The Linear B script of the Mycenaeans was adapted from the Linear A syllabary, in much the same way that the later Greek speakers adapted the Phoenician alphabet to write the Greek language. It is fairly certain that the Mycenaeans retained the phonetic values for the signs they borrowed from Linear A.[802] By comparing the signs, and the frequency of signs, used in both Linear A and Linear B, it has been shown that the Minoan language has, at its core, syllables ending in the vowels a, i, and u, whereas Mycenaean Greek utilizes more syllables containing the vowels e and o.[803]

In addition, many Minoan words exhibit initial reduplication, i.e. the first two syllables of a given word are represented by the same sign. Examples in Linear A include DI-DI-ZA-KE, QA-QA-RU, SA-SA-ME, TI-TI-KU, and KU-KU-DA-RA, among others.[804] The divine name *pi-pi-tu-na* conforms well to these linguistic features.

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[801] Presented as a CAMWS paper with Dimitri Nakassis.

[802] Packard 1974; Duhoux 1989; Palaima and Sikkenga 1999.

[803] It is a universal phenomenon that three vowel languages always consist of the vowels a, i, and u (Crothers 1978: 114-116). That Linear A is dominated by these three vowels, see Packard 1974: 113-115; Duhoux 1989: 72-74; Palaima and Sikkenga 1999: 603-604.

[804] The convention of using the Linear B sign vowels when writing Linear A words and of representing Linear A words in capital letters in order to distinguish them from Linear B words is maintained here. Examples of the Linear A words containing initial reduplication provided above can be found on the

Only the vowels which are presumed to be Minoan are present and it exhibits initial "reduplication." Though these spelling features, and the fact that this divinity is attested only at Knossos, could reasonably identify *pi-pi-tu-na* as a Minoan divinity, a few additional pieces of evidence, may strengthen its Minoan identification.

The sign sequence *tu-na* is present in Linear A in the sequence KU-MBA-NA-TU-NA-TE found on a cylindrical stone cup from the Neopalatial town of Apodoulou as part of a religious assemblage.[805] This sequence of signs is believed to be some kind of votive formula based on its occurrence or partial occurrence on several Minoan stone tables and vessels.[806] The *tu-na* sequence may also be reflected in a Cretan divinity known in the historical period as Diktynna.[807] Admittedly, any connection between *pi-pi-tu-na,* KU-MBA-NA-TU-NA(-TE), and Diktynna can be viewed as entirely circumstantial. However, all three can independently be connected with the religion of Crete which at the very least raises some interesting questions. Regardless, based on the more definitive linguistic features of *pi-pi-tu-na,* and the fact that this divinity is honored only at Knossos, it seems very likely that *pi-pi-tu-na* represents a Minoan divinity.

The Mycenaeans also retained some Linear A signs representing purely Minoan phonemes. In Linear B, the signs **56* (representing *mba*), **22* (representing *mbi*)[808] and

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following tablets: HT 1, 93, 23, 35, and 117a, respectively. For initial reduplication in Linear A and Linear B, see Lejeune 1972.

[805] Other finds in this assemblage include a gold votive double axe, a bronze double axe, a bronze blade, a stone libation tablet with a Linear A inscription, terracotta bull's head rhyton, and pottery. Though the find-spots for this assemblage have not been published, Gesell (1985) proposes that they were found either in a house shrine or an independent sanctuary.

[806] For example, KU-MBA-NU occurs 5 to 9 times. KU-MBA-NA-TU is also attested on HT 47 and 119.

[807] Doria 1965: 239; Hiller and Panagl 1976: 301; Furumark 1953 and 1954.

[808] The phonetic values for **56* and **22* have been established by Melena (1975: 66 and 1987: 203-232).

**47* (phonetic value unknown) are reserved exclusively for writing non-Greek toponyms, personal names, and technical loan words.[809] These signs are found predominately, but not exclusively, in tablets from Knossos. For example, *mbi* occurs at Knossos on at least 55 tablets in a minimum of 9 words. At Thebes, however, *mbi* occurs only 8 times, but always in the same personal name *ko-du-*22-je*.[810] In addition, *mba* occurs on at least 60 tablets at Knossos in no less than 22 words, but limited examples of this sign exist outside of a Cretan context.[811] Finally, sign **47* is attested only in toponyms at Knossos.[812] The use of the Minoan phoneme represented by **56* in the divine name *mba-ti* strengthens its interpretation as a Minoan theonym because it conforms well to the features of the Minoan language.

At this point, two divinities in the Knossos tablets may be identified as Minoan based on linguistic evidence: *pi-pi-tu-na* and *mba-ti.* Three additional divinities may also show features of the Minoan language: *qe-ra-si-ja, pa-de* and *si-ja-ma-to.* These words

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In the recently published Thebes tables, Aravantinos, Godart, and Sacconi (2001: 359-360) have attempted to assign the value ko_2 to **56*; see also Lejeune and Godart 1995:123, 272-77. However, this interpretation has been successfully refuted by Melena (forthcoming); Palaima (2000-2001: 485-485) supports Melena's refutation, demonstrating that Melena's original interpretation is preferable.

[809] Palaima and Sikkenga 1999: 602-603.

[810] My count of sign occurrences differs slightly from those provided by Palaima and Sikkenga (1999: 602). To obtain these numbers, I have used the index recently compiled by Aura Jorro and applied a conservative set of criteria for determining (1) a sign's presence on a tablet and (2) the number of words containing these signs. I did not count any fragmentary or questionable signs whose value as **22* or **56* has been proposed. Therefore, only the minimum number of tablets and words were included in these accounts. In addition, I have taken into account the newly published Thebes tablets, which were unavailable to Palaima and Sikkenga 1999. Finally, I have excluded from our accounts occurrences of these signs on inscribed stirrup jars.

[811] Two or three times at Pylos on En 659 and En 269 in the personal name *ka-ra-*56-so* and possible reading on PY Xn 1150 (**56-ke-ke*). At Thebes, the sign is attested once on a sealing TH Wu 45 (**56-po-so*) and 14 times in the tablets. However, all of these 14 attestations occur in the same personal name **56-ru-we*, with the exception of one possible reading (without context) on TH Gp 165.

[812] Melena forthcoming.

contain the vowels *e* and *o*, which are not as common in the Minoan language. The o-series is very infrequent in Linear A, which is reflected in the fact that the Mycenaeans needed to invent most of their signs for syllables containing *o*.[813] The e-series, however, is a bit more common (especially in comparison to the o-series), and consequently fewer e-syllable signs had to be invented for Linear B.[814] For this reason, Linear A may be seen as a four vowel language, in which the fourth vowel is something close to the vowel e.[815]

The fact that some Minoan words can contain the *e* vowel may help explain the term *qe-ra-si-ja*, whose interpretation as a Greek word has been problematical. Several etymologies have been proposed, though none universally accepted,[816] perhaps because the name is in fact Minoan. To support this proposal, it is noteworthy that the sign QE does occur in Linear A and its phonetic value seems quite similar to that of QA. A comparison of QE-RJA-U with QA-RJA-WA on two Linear A tablets from Haghia Triada demonstrates this similarity:

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[813] Linear B invents the signs for *do, jo, mo, no, qo, so,* and *wo* (Palaima and Sikkenga 1999: 604, n. 15; Melena forthcoming).

[814] Linear B invents the signs for *pe* and *we,* (Melena forthcoming; Palaima and Sikkenga 1999: 604, n. 15).

[815] This is a universal feature of four vowel languages. That is, if a language consists of four vowels, these vowels are always a, i, u and either ə or ɨ (Crothers 1978: 116).

[816] For a full bibliography on the proposed etymologies of *qe-ra-si-ja*, see Aura Jorro (1985-1993: II, 195-196).

HT 86		**HT 95**[817]	
A-KA-RU[818]		DA-DU-MA-TA	GRA
KU-NI-SU	GRA 20	KU-NI-SU	10
SA-RU	GRA 20	SA-RU	20
DI-KE-RU	GRA 20	DI-KE-RU	10
QA-RJA-WA	GRA 10	**QE-RJA-U**	10
A-DU			
DA-MU	GRA 20	DA-MU	10
MI-NU-TE	GRA 20	MI-NU-TE	10

These two tablets record a list of six items, all of which are identical except for QE-RJA-U and QA-RJA-WA, suggesting that they are variant spellings of the same word.[819] In addition, the sign QE is actually more common in Linear A than QA.[820] Also problematical with the theonym *qe-ra-si-ja* is its *i-ja* ending, a common adjectival suffix in Linear B, which makes *qe-ra-si-ja* appear to be Greek.[821] However, the *i-ja* ending is attested fairly frequently in Linear A, such as SE-TO-I-JA on PR Za 1b, SU-KI-RI-TE-I-JA on HT Zb 158b, PA-SA-RI-JA and KU-MBA-RI-JA on HT 24. Furthermore, the prominence of *qe-ra-si-ja* in the Knossos tablets is striking. This divine name occurs a total of seven times on the Fp tablets, more than any other god in this series. In addition, *qe-ra-si-ja* is offered a greater total quantity of oil than any single divinity and only *qe-*

[817] Note that I have changed the order of the entries on this tablet to correspond to the order of the terms listed on HT 86.

[818] A-KA-RU and A-DU on HT 86 and DA-DU-MA-TA on HT 95 are functioning as tablet headers and are not part of the itemized list.

[819] See also QA-KU-RE on HT Wc 3017.a and QE-KU-RE on HT 20. The alternation between the labial WA and U, linguistically, is not problematical. Such an alternation appears in other Linear A words such as JA-TA-I-*88-**U**-JA and A-TA-I-*88-**WA**-JA (Duhoux 1997: 68) and even occurs in the Linear B theonym *di-**wi**-ja* and *di-**u**-ja* (Aura Jorro 1985: 178-179).

[820] Packard 1974.

[821] In addition, the occurrence of *qe-ra-si-jo* on Fp 16 also supports the interpretation of this term as a Greek word with both masculine (*jo*) and feminine (*ja*) endings. As noted above (Section IV.A1), however, it is likely that *qe-ra-si-jo* is a scribal error, especially since *qe-ra-si-ja* is offered quantities of oil in every other month recorded in the Fp(1) series.

ra-si-ja and *pa-si-te-o-i* receive oil offerings in all of the 6 months listed in the Fp series. The prominence of this divinity at Knossos and its acceptable Minoan linguistic features strengthens its identification as a Minoan divinity.

Another theonym which may be Minoan is *pa-de* (with the variant spelling *pa-ze* in the *RCT* texts), one of the most common divinities in the Knossos tablets and one who lacks an acceptable Greek etymology. Like *qe-ra-si-ja*, *pa-de* linguistically does not appear to be Minoan because of the *e* vowel in the ending. However, the syllabogram DE is fairly common in Linear A so its presence in *pa-de* is not too problematical, especially since the word PA-DE itself occurs in the Linear A corpus. That is not to say that Linear A PA-DE is equivalent to Linear B *pa-de*. When comparing words in Linear A and B, a certain degree of caution must be exercised, especially with words consisting of only two signs. In such instances, the probability of coincidence is too high[822] and we cannot state for certain whether these two words are referring to the same thing.

Contextual evidence may strengthen the identification of *pa-de* as a Minoan divinity. As discussed above (Chapter 4, Sections II.B, II.C and II.G), evidence for this theonym is found on two tablets from the *RCT*, the earliest collection of Linear B at Knossos. These tablets record the name *pa-ze* or **padje*,[823] a variant of *pa-de.*[824] The fact that the name of this divinity exhibits two different spellings and that one of those spellings exhibits what we believe is feature of Minoan phonology may attest to its non-Greek nature. The form *pa-ze* only occurs in the *RCT*, a chronologically earlier archive,

[822] Packard 1974: 91.
[823] The sign *ze* can be read as "kye", "gye", "dye", "dje" (Hooker 1980: 54).
[824] Risch 1987: 291.

and *pa-de* only occurs in the later archives. The spelling in the *RCT* indicates that the Mycenaean scribes of the *RCT* chose to be more accurate in rendering this foreign divine name by representing the semi-consonantal glide. Yet, over time the spelling, and presumably the pronunciation, was simplified to *pa-de.*

In addition, *pa-de* seems to have been a very important divinity at Knossos based on its prevalence in the tablets. This divinity is found on at least eight different tablets on which s/he is offered a variety of agricultural commodities.[825] *pa-de* occurs more than any other divinity, on a greater variety of tablets (Fp, Fs, Ga, C, and V) and in two temporal horizons. Given the spelling variations of the name, its frequent occurrences on the Knossos tablets and not at all in mainland texts, the fact that no convincing Greek reading of *pa-de* exists and that it conforms to Minoan spelling conventions, it is likely that *pa-de* refers to a Minoan divinity who was of such importance at Knossos that offerings were given to this deity by the palatial administrators in the earliest recorded tablets from this site.

Finally, *si-ja-ma-to* may be an example of a Minoan deity. This divine name uses predominately syllables which dominate the Minoan language. The exception, of course, is the final *o*. However, Lejeune demonstrates the alternation between Linear B words ending in *o* and Linear A words ending with *u*,[826] such as *qa-qa-ro* and QA-QA-RU.[827] This is particularly true of masculine personal names that, in Linear B, exhibit initial reduplication which Lejeune believes may be Minoan in origin. The o/u alternation can

[825] On two of these tablets, *pa-de* is written differently in the form of *pa-ze*.
[826] Lejeune 1972; Billigmeier 1969: 179.
[827] As well as Linear B *di-de-ro* and Linear A DI-DE-RU.

be explained by the reflex of Greek-speaking Mycenaeans to adapt Minoan personal names to the Greek language by making them conform to the masculine 2nd declension with a nominative ending in -ος.[828] If this interpretation is correct, *si-ja-ma-to* represents a masculine theonym, making it one of the few instances where the gender of a Minoan divinity can be inferred. In addition, the syllable *si-* suggests that *si-ja-ma-to* is a loan word, since initial sigma in PIE words would change to a rough breathing in Ancient Greek.[829] Thus, *si-ja-ma-to* can be understood as a Mycenaean rendering of a foreign, perhaps Minoan, theonym.

Based on the linguistic evidence, at least five divinities, which occur <u>only</u> at the site of Knossos, exhibit features of the Minoan language. I propose that these divinities may in fact be Minoan gods and/or goddesses that are being honored by the Mycenaean administrators at Knossos. The context of these divinities both within the Fp series (and the greater corpus of the Knossos tablets) provides additional evidence to support this theory. All of these divinities occur on tablets along with the term *pa-si-te-o-i,* which I believe is very significant. Despite its obvious Greek etymology, *pa-si-te-o-i* occurs <u>only</u> at Knossos. It is clearly being used as an all-encompassing term, probably meaning something like "to all the divinities not specifically stated." This kind of terminology is common in contemporary Near Eastern documents, especially in prayers and treaties between foreign states. For example, a treaty between the Hittite king Mursilis and

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[828] Such adaptations are known to have occurred in Semitic languages, especially with divine names when a conquering people wish to include local gods in their worship.

[829] Other Greek loan words with initial σ include σήσαμον "sesame" (Linear B *sa-sa-ma*) and σέλινον "celery" (Linear B *se-ri-no*). That initial sigmas had changed to rough breathing by the time of the Linear B tablets, see *e-qe-ta* from **sek*^{h}*w*.

Duppi-tessub of Amurru includes a long list invoking various *specific* gods, especially Storm-gods from many different cities, as well as more general references to divinities, such as "the Lulahhi gods (and) the Hapiri gods, … the gods and goddesses of the Hatti land, the gods and goddesses of the Amurru land, [and] all the olden gods, …".[830] It is not surprising that such generalizing terms would have been used in a treaty between warring states. It allows the Hittites to include the gods of the foreign peoples in this treaty, even though they may not know their specific names. In addition, it is a means by which they can express their dominance over newly conquered territories and to ensure that the treaty, which all the gods have been called upon to witness, will be honored by both parties.

I believe that *pa-si-te-o-i* is being used in a similar way in the Knossos tablets; to make certain that all divinities, some of whom the Mycenaeans are unable to name specifically, are included in ritual offerings. I think it is significant in this regard that the term *pa-si-te-o-i* is <u>*never*</u> used on tablets from the Greek mainland.[831] Instead, Mycenaean Greeks always referred to their gods specifically by name on tablets recording ritual offerings. On Crete, however, the use of the term *pa-si-te-o-i* was necessary in order to include the many local, Minoan divinities. In this respect, it is interesting that the divinities in the Fp series can be viewed either as Minoan (*pi-pi-tu-na, *56-ti, pa-de, qe-ra-si-ja* and *si-ja-ma-to*), Minoanized versions of Indo-European deities

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[830] Cf. *Kbo* I,1.

[831] With the exception of *te-o-i*, but this is not an all-inclusive term like *pa-si-te-o-i*. It implies that the θεοῖς are known and do not need to be specified.

(*di-ka-ta-jo di-we*) or gods unattested on mainland texts (*a-re* and *e-ri-nu*).[832] It seems that the Mycenaean administrators were particularly interested in honoring localized and Minoan divinities and in ensuring that every deity was included in these ritual offerings. With this scenario in mind, let us turn to the larger groups of texts.

Considerable similarities are evident between the divinities from the *RCB* and those attested in the Room of the Clay Chest (see Table 5-12).

Table 5-12: *RCB* Divinities

Divinities	**Possible Sanctuaries or Festivals**
e-ri-nu **56-ti* *qe-ra-si-ja* *si-ja-ma-to*	*ka-ra-e-ri-jo* *de-u-ki-jo*

All of the clearly identifiable theonyms (*e-ri-nu, qe-ra-si-ja, mba-ti* and *si-ja-ma-to*) also occur in the Fp series. Moreover, the names of two possible sanctuaries or festivals, *ka-ra-e-i-jo* and *de-u-ki-jo*, though not attested in the Room of the Clay Chest, seem to be related to the month names *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* and *de-u-ki-jo,* both of which occur in the Fp tablets (see Chapter 5, Section II.A). In addition, both the Fp and Fh series record allotments of oil. Given these similarities, it is likely that two groups of tablets are closely connected to each other in some way.

[832] *a-re* does occur on the mainland, but only in male personal names derived from Ares.

2. Interpretation of Group A Tablets

As noted in Chapter 3,[833] Firth grouped the Linear B tablets into three distinct groups: the *RCT* tablets, which date to Phase I, and Group A and Group B tablets, both of which belong to Phase II. What seems certain is that the tablets belonging to Group A are all contemporary with each other, based on their findspots and scribal associations. The same can be said of the tablets within Group B. What is uncertain is whether the Group A and Group B tablets are also contemporary with each other or belong to two different fire destructions that occurred within Phase II. To overcome this problem with the dating of the tablets, I have examined the religious tablets within these larger groups (Groups A and B) separately, in order to determine if significant religious differences exist between these potentially non-contemporary tablet groups. Group A tablets include those from the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco, the West Magazines, the Area of the Clay Signet and the Arsenal. Table 5-13 lists all of the divinities identified on tablets from these findspots.

[833] Sections II and III.

Table 5-13: Group A Divinities

po-ti-ni-ja[	Potnia
da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja	Potnia of Labyrinthos
e-re-u-ti-ja	Eleuthia
e-ne]-*si-da-o-ne*?	Enesidaon?
a-re	Ares
pa-si-te-o-i	All the Gods
pa-de	
si-ja-ma-to	
pa-sa-ja	

Nine different divinities can be identified, both male and female. Only one theonym, *po-ti-ni-ja*, has a clear Indo-European etymology. Presumably, the Greek-speaking Mycenaeans brought the cult of this divinity with them to Crete. However, in at least two instances, Potnia is modified by the genitive of the place name *da-pu$_2$-ri-to* (similar to *di-ka-ta-jo di-we*), suggesting some kind of religious syncretism. Interestingly, the theonyms *e-re-u-ti-ja* and *a-re* survive in later Greek religion and the cults of Eileithuia and Ares, their historical counterparts, are particularly prominent on Crete. /*Eleuthiā*/ (Homeric Greek *Εἰλείθυια)* is the goddess of childbirth and was worshipped in a cave near Amnisos from Neolithic to Roman times. In the Linear B tablets, *e-re-u-ti-ja* receives an offering of honey at Amnisos (Gg 705), as well as two whole units of wool (Od 714 and 715).[834] Ares is connected with the goddess Aphrodite in several Cretan cults, though in the Bronze Age, no evidence exists that clearly links him with any other divinity.[835]

[834] Though whether these are brought to her cult locale in Amnisos is unspecified.
[835] Gulizio 2001.

Two divinities from Group A may be Minoan: *pa-de* and *si-ja-ma-to.* *pa-sa-ja* also conforms to Minoan linguistics (using only the vowel *a*) and is attested only on tablets from Knossos. In addition, *pa-sa-ja* occurs on X 451 along with *si-ja-ma-to.* Unfortunately, this tablet is very fragmentary and no additional information is provided, but at the very least it suggests that *pa-sa-ja* and *si-ja-ma-to* may function in the same capacity. If this is the case, perhaps *pa-sa-ja* is also Minoan in origin.

The religious information on Group A tablets is quite similar to that on the Room of the Clay Chest tablets. Both Indo-European and Minoan divinities receive religious offerings, yet emphasis seems to be given to local gods: *po-ti-ni-ja* is qualified by the local epithet *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo* in at least two of the three attestations of this theonym;[836] *e-re-u-ti-ja* and *a-re* are only known on Cretan texts; and *si-ja-ma-to* and *pa-sa-ja* are likely to be Minoan. Unfortunately, the etymology of *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* is questionable, so it is uncertain if this theonym is also locally significant.[837] Finally, the term *pa-si-te-o-i* serves to honor any remaining local gods whose precise names may not be known.

3. Interpretation of Group B Tablets

Of the Group B findspots, religious tablets were found only in the Area of Bull Relief. Table 5-14 lists all of the divinities identified from this findspot.

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[836] *po-ti-ni-ja*[on X 444 is broken on the right so this could also be the adjectival *po-ti-ni-ja*[-*we-jo.*]*po-ti-ni-ja*[on M 729 could be *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja.*

[837] Attempts have been made to associate *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* with an epithet of Poseidon' Ενοσίχθων.

Table 5-14: Group B Divinities

po-ti-ni-ja	Potnia
e-ma-a$_2$	Hermes
te-o-i	The Gods
di-wo	Zeus?
pa-si-te-o-i	All the Gods
pa-de	
pa-sa-ja	

In the Group B tablets, *pa-si-te-o-i* occurs on Ga 953 along with two possible Minoan divinities, *pa-de* and *pa-sa-ja.* Two additional divine terms, *e-ma-a*$_2$ and *te-o-i*, which do not appear in the Group A tablets, are attested in the *NEP.* Finally, the divine name Zeus without the epithet *di-ka-ta-jo* may be present, though admittedly the interpretation of this attestation is questionable.

The occurrences of three divinities from the Group B tablets (*po-ti-ni-ja, e-ma-a*$_2$*,* and *te-o-i*) are very different from the other divinities discussed above. *po-ti-ni-ja* and *e-ma-a*$_2$ are not recipients of offerings, rather they are in some way participating in the economic affairs of the state. They own large flocks of sheep of which the palatial administrators are taking account. The occurrence of the term *te-o-i* ("to the gods") is also unusual at this site. It is the only time that this word is used at Knossos without *pa-si* preceding it. Written above this term is the fragmentary *di-wo*[, possibly the genitive form of Zeus, but exactly how Zeus is related to *te-o-i* is unknown.

The differences between the divinities in the Group A and Group B tablets could be attributed to a number of factors. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Driessen favors an earlier date for the tablets from the *NEP* (i.e. Group B), which could account for the fact

that the IE divinities (*po-ti-ni-ja* and *di-wo*) have not yet been syncretized with divinities in the Minoan pantheon. This explanation could also explain the fact that Mycenaean divinities are playing a significant role in the economy of Knossos as holders of flocks of sheep. If the newly-installed Greek-speaking elites wished to acquire flocks in the Knossos region, doing so in the name of a divinity would have been a politically savy way to accomplish this. If, however, the Group A and B tablets are contemporary with each other, the difference could be explained by the differing natures of the archives and/or tablet deposits. Numerous tablets from the *NEP* are concerned with recording and tracking flocks of sheep and so it should be expected that they would also record sheep owned by divinities. The same could be said of tablets from the *RCB* which record the comings and goings of oil which in some cases involve oil allotted divinities or used for cult purposes.

4. Conclusions

Despite the fact that some theonyms in Group B function differently from Group A divinities, much of the information in the Group B tablets is similar to the other groups. In fact, considerable overlap exists among the different tablet deposits, especially concerning the divine names. Table 5-15 lists the divinities according to the deposits established by Firth: the Room of the Clay Chest and the *RCB* are kept separate since neither deposit demonstrated significant connections with the scribes from Groups A and

B. The divinities which occur in more than one group are listed above the grey dividing line.

Table 5-15: Comparison of Divinities from Different Findspots

Room of the Clay Chest	RCB	Group A	Group B
e-ri-nu *qe-ra-si-ja* **56-ti* *si-ja-ma-to* *a-re* *pa-de* *pa-si-te-o-i* [838]	*e-ri-nu* *qe-ra-si-ja* **56-ti* *si-ja-ma-to*	*si-ja-ma-to* *a-re* *pa-de* *pa-si-te-o-i* *pa-sa-ja* *po-ti-ni-ja*	*pa-de* *pa-si-te-o-i* *pa-sa-ja* *po-ti-ni-ja*
di-ka-ta-jo di-we *a-ne-mo (i-je-re-ja)* *pi-pi-tu-na*	*ka-ra-e-re?*[839] *de-u-ke?*	*da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* *e-re-u-ti-ja* *e-ne*]*-si-da-o-ne*?	*e-ma-a$_2$* *te-o-i* *di-we?*

Intererstingly, *pa-de*, who may also be attested in the *RCT* as *pa-ze,* occurs in three out of the four groups, perhaps denoting his importance in the pantheon. Only *pa-de/ze* and *di-we* are attested in both the *RCT* and the later Knossos tablets, though Zeus in at least one instance is qualified by *di-ka-ta-jo* in the later period.

What is striking in this table is that most of the local and/or Minoan divinities which I have identified occur in more than one of the tablet deposits. Of the six possible Minoan divinities, five occur in two or more of these groups.[840] It is difficult to know exactly what can be inferred about Mycenaean religion based on Table 16, since the

[838] Of course, *pa-si-te-o-i* is collective term, as opposed to a single divinity.
[839] As noted above (Section IV.A3), it may be possible to reconstruct the divine names *ka-re-e-re* and *de-u-ke* based on the terms *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* and *de-u-ki-jo* referring to sanctuaries or festivals based on these theonyms.
[840] *qe-ra-si-ja, *56-ti, si-ja-ma-to, pa-de* and *pa-sa-ja.* Only *pi-pi-tu-na* is found in a single deposit.

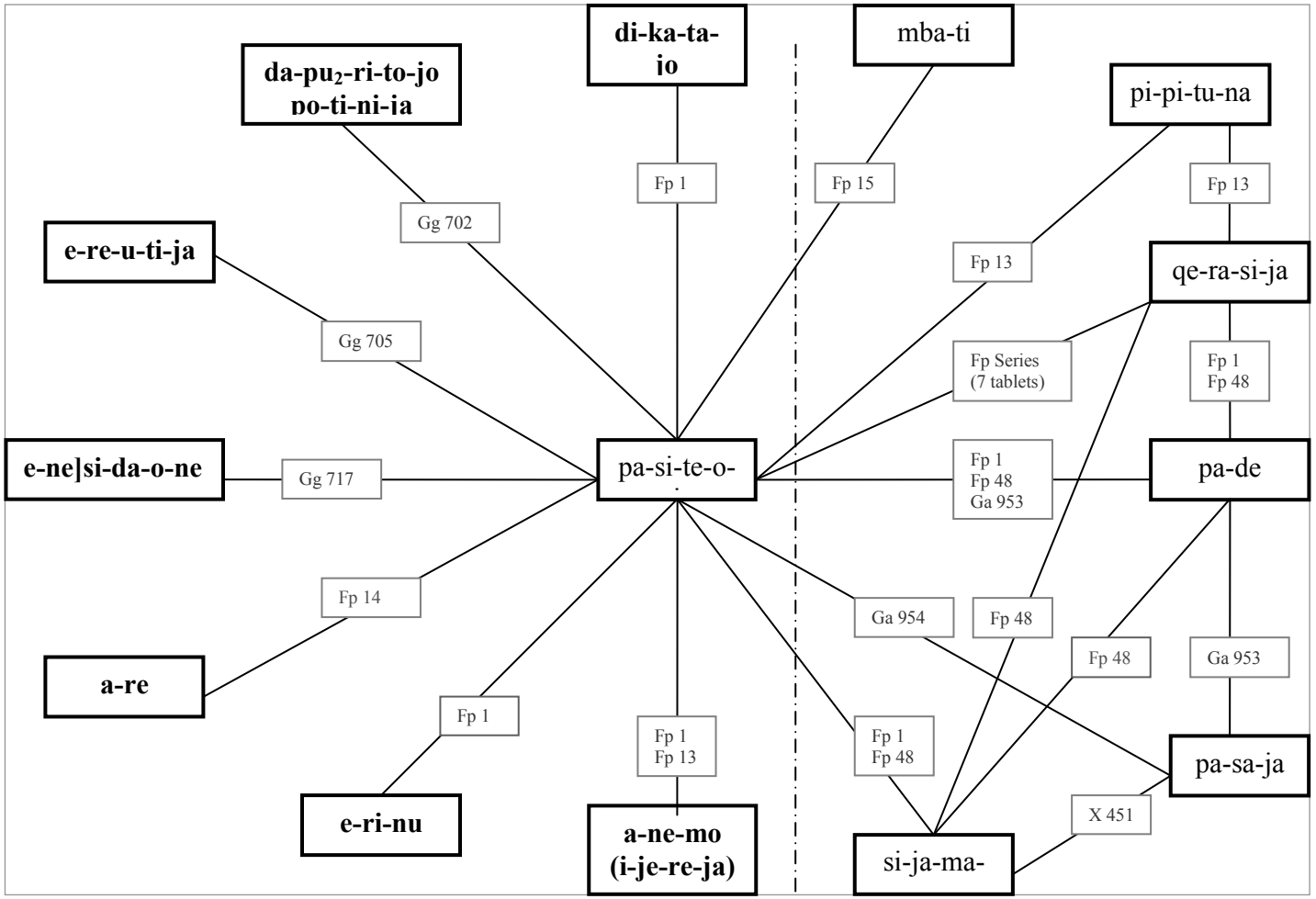
chronological relationship between these tablet deposits is unknown. The religious information provided by these different groups is consistent enough with each other that it would not be surprising if all of the tablets were contemporary. However, if they do date to different phases or destructions, it seems that the Mycenaean administrators were considerably interested in honoring primarily local Minoan divinities throughout their tenure at Knossos.

I realize that, taken individually, the identification of these Minoan divinities based on their linguistic features may not be completely persuasive. However, when these theonyms are examined together, regardless of their findspots, their Minoan identification is further strengthened. These interrelations are illustrated in Table 5-16 below. On the left in boldface are theonyms that are understandable, at least in terms of later Greek religion. The possible Minoan divinities are grouped on the right side and separated by a dotted line.

The interconnections between these divinities are striking. Not only do all of them occur with *pa-si-te-o-i*, but except for *mba-ti,* they all appear with at least one other Minoan divinity. The divinities identifiable in terms of later Greek religion (*di-we, po-ti-ni-ja, e-re-u-ti-ja,* and *a-re*) do not interlock with each other in this way. Yet, it is also striking that other divinities that occur with *pa-si-te-o-i* (on the left of the dotted line on Table 18) are either unattested on the Greek mainland or are Greek gods described by local Minoan cult places (*di-ka-ta-jo* and *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo*). It seems clear that Minoan divinities and cult places were fully incorporated into the religious practices observed by palatial administrators of Knossos. In some cases, mainland divinities appear to be

Minoanized, but more often the names of Minoan divinities are preserved, such as *pi-pi-tu-na, mba-ti, pa-sa-ja, si-ja-ma-to, pa-de* and *qe-ra-si-ja*. Furthermore, these divinities are contextually linked in the tablets, suggesting that their cults were associated with each other both spatially and temporally. Finally, the use of *pa-si-te-o-i* suggests that palatial administrators were scrupulous to include all local gods in their ritual offerings.

Table 5-16: Textual Interconnections between Minoan Divinities in the Knossos Tablets



Theonyms are not the only common feature of these four groups of tablets. Many of the identifiable cult locales recur in these different sets, as shown in Table 5-17. Those that appear in more than group are listed above the grey line.

Table 5-17: Cult Locales in the Knossos Tablets

Room of Clay Chest	**RCB**	**Group A**	**Group B**
di-ka-ta *a-mi-ni-so* *da-da-re-jo* *me-na?*	*di-ka-ta*	 *a-mi-ni-so* *da-da-re-jo* *ma-sa*	*di-ka-ta* *a-mi-ni-so* *ma-sa* *me-na?*
ki-ri-jo *au-ri-mo* *sa-na-to* *o-ja* *u-ta-no* **47-da* **47-ku-to*	*da-*83-ri-jo*		]*ri-jo*? *me-a*

Of the six cult locales recorded in Group B, at least three, and perhaps four, occur in one of the other groups (*di-ka-ta, a-mi-ni-so, ma-sa* and *me-na* (if it is in fact a place name)). It has been proposed that]*ri-jo-de* could possibly be *ki-*]*ri-jo-de*, in which case only one site, *me-a,* is unique to Group B. In fact, considerable overlap occurs in all four groups. Of particular interest are the cult locales at *di-ka-ta* and *a-mi-ni-so.* They both occur in three different groups, perhaps signifying their importance as locations for ritual activity, and are identifiable in the archaeological record as the sites at Iuktos and Amnisos, respectively. Though we only have evidence for the worship of Zeus at Dikte (Fp 1), a number of divinities may have been honored at Amnisos. *e-re-u-ti-ja* and *pa-si-te-o-i* are

clearly localized at Amnisos, since these terms immediately follow this place on offering tablets.[841] It is also possible that *e-ri-nu, e-ne-si-da-o-ne* and *a-re* also received offerings here; though their names do not occur immediately after *a-mi-ni-so*(*-de*), they appear as the next entry. For example, line .2 of Fp 14 records *a-mi-ni-so-de* written in majuscule preceding *pa-si-te-o-i,* which is then followed by an oil offering to *a-re.*

Fp 14 .1a me-no OLE
.1b a-ma-ko-to , / jo-te-re-pa-to , // e-ke-se-si V 1
.2 qe-ra-si-ja S 1 a-mi-ni-so-de , / pa-si-te-o-i S 2 a-re V [

In this instance, it is unclear if *a-re* also receives his offerings at Amnisos with *pa-si-te-o-i,* or if his cult place is located elsewhere. In either case, it would have been clear to anyone reading this tablet where the oil was meant to be brought. Similar situations exist for *e-ri-nu* on Fp 1 and *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* on M 719. Therefore, at least two and perhaps as many as four divinities were honored at Amnisos.

Finally, the variety of commodities given to these gods and religious locales as offerings is worth discussing (Table 5-18).

Table 5-18: Religious Offerings in the Knossos Tablets

Room of Clay Chest		**RCB**		**Group A**		**Group B**	
OLE	**Oil**	**OLE**	**Oil**	**OLE**	**Oil**	OLIV	Olives
HORD	Grain			**PYC**	**Cyperus**	**PYC**	**Cyperus**
NI	**Figs**			*MERI*	Honey	***NI***	**Figs**
FAR	Flour			LANA	Wool	GRA	Grain
VIN	Wine			**146*	Cloth	*MA*	Fennel
				**166*	Cloth	*KO*	Coriander
				**150*	Goat skin		
				**177*	?		

[841] As indicated on Fp, 1, 14, 48 and Gg 705.

Commodities in bold occur in more than one of the groups. First, it should be noted that no *clear* indication of animal sacrifices is present in the Knossos texts.[842] Only one tablet (C 394), whose findspot is uncertain and has not yet been discussed, may suggest offerings of livestock allotted to divinities. Unfortunately, C 394 is so fragmentary that its format is difficult to understand (see Appendix I.E6). Two theonyms are attested (*pa-de* and *pa-ja-o-ne,* an alternate spelling for *pa-ja-wo-ne* attested on V 52), along with three different types of animals: a bull (BOS^{m}), a ram (OVIS ^{m}), and a boar (CAP ^{m}). However, which divinity receives these animals is uncertain, nor it is clear if these animals were intended for sacrifice or for some other religious function.

Instead, most of these offerings consist of basic foodstuffs, both liquid (olive oil, wine and honey) and solid (grains, figs and spices). As mentioned above, some of the oil from the Room of the Column Bases may have been used for ritual libations or anointing (see Chapter 5, Section II.C), as indicated by the terms *e-pi-ko-wa* and *po-ro-ko-wa*. It is possible that the other liquid offerings had similar uses, but the Linear B evidence does not provide such details. Weilhartner has proposed that some of these offerings (solid food offerings) may have served as a type of "first fruits" which would be consistent with historical evidence for similar commodities.[843] However, it is not possible to verify this hypothesis based on the Linear B tablets alone; rather, we must look for evidence of such rituals in the archaeological evidence, which is addressed in the next section.

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[842] The only reference to the sacrifice of animals is found KN Cf 941 which records sheep deisgnated for sacrifice (*sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja*) on account of manslaughter (*pa-ro / a-pi-qo-ta*). However, the tablet does not suggest that the animals are sacrifices for *religious* purposes, but as a payment or punishment for a crime.
[843] Weilhartner 2003.

III. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

A number of cult locales were in use at the Palace of Minos during the final phases of the site and can be considered contemporary with the Linear B tablet evidence discussed above. It is appropriate then to examine the archaeological evidence for religion and compare what is known, or at least what can be inferred, to the textual evidence. Following the methodology used in Chapter Four, I begin with the shrines catalogued by Gesell for the site of Knossos.[844] I am specifically interested in cult places which Gesell has dated to the Post-palatial period, which for her includes the phases after the LM IIIA1 period at Knossos.[845] However, the Post-palatial period can extend into the LM IIIC period. Since this dissertation is only concerned with religion at Knossos during the period of Mycenaean administration, I only examine shrines that were in use up to and including LM IIIB. For this reason, I do not address shrines that begin their use in the LM IIIC period. Once I have determined identified shrines that were in use during the LM IIIA2 to IIIB period, I examine the evidence for each shrine individually to determine its religious function and combine this information with the textual evidence.

As in Chapter Four, I focus on shrines found in the palace proper. It should be noted that a number of shrines were found in various buildings in the town of Knossos. It seems clear that at this phase in Knossos' history, Greek-speakers have fully infiltrated the site, as attested by Linear B tablets found in ancillary buildings, such as the Arsenal, around the Knossos town. In addition, significant changes have been made to some cult locales in these ancillary buildings, which could be explained by the presence of the

[844] Gessel 1985.

[845] It should be noted that Gesell uses this date range (LM IIIA2-IIIC) as her designation for the Post-palatial period *only* for the site of Knossos. For all other sites in her catalogue, the Post-palatial period includes all phases of LM III (1985: 4).

"Mycenaeans." However, for the purposes of this dissertation, I limit my evaluation to shrines that are found only within the palace itself, though I hope to address the ancillary buildings in future research. Table 5-19 provides all of the cult locales in the palace of Knossos which are assigned to the Post-palatial period, indicating whether or not they were also used during Phase II.

Table 5-19: Phase II Shrines at Knossos

Name of Shrine/Deposit	**Date Given by Gesell**	**LM IIIA2-IIIB**
Palace: The Central Sanctuary Complex	Neopalatial; Post-palatial	Yes, but probably a storeroom in Post-palatial
Palace: The Throne Room Complex	Neopalatial (LM II-IIIA2)	Yes
Palace: Shrine of the Double Axes	Post-palatial (LM IIIB)	Yes

A. The Central Sanctuary Complex

As discussed in Chapter 4, the Central Sanctuary Complex is located in the west wing of the palace just north of the *RCT* (see fig. 4.2). It has a number of architectural phases which have been identified by Driessen and are outlined in detail in the previous chapter (see Chapter 4, Section IIIA). It has been established that during Phase I (LM II-LM IIIA1), the Central Sanctuary Complex possibly functioned as a shrine, with an anteroom (the *RCB*) and two pillar crypts (the East and West Pillar Crypts). In addition, some connection may have existed between the pillar crypts and the first six magazines which were easily accessed via a dog-legged corridor and whose doorways were marked with double-axes. Finally, Phase I may have witnessed the construction of the "Tripartite Shrine" which served as a monumental entrance to the Complex and partially blocked off

the view of the Pillar Crypts from the Central Court. Unfortunately, the lack of finds associated specifically with this phase of the Central Court Sanctuary and the questionable interpretations of the "Tripartite Shrine" did not allow for a definitive identification of this structure as religious. In addition, despite iconographical parallels suggesting its religious significance, a lack of actual architectural parallels does not allow us to determine exactly *how* the "Tripartite Shrine" may have functioned as a religious shrine.

Following the LM IIIA1 destruction which sealed off the *RCT* and buried the Linear B tablets stored in this room, the layout and use of the Central Sanctuary Complex underwent considerable changes which belong to Phase II. Here, we are concerned with Driessen's fourth architectural phase (fig. 4.6). Though the *RCT* (no. 1) and the rooms to west of it (nos. 10, 11, 13) were filled with debris and no longer in use, the *RCB* (no. 2), the Pillar Crypts (no. 7) and the rooms to the north (nos. 3-6) continued to be used, but in a different capacity. At this time, one of the two eastern entrances to the East Pillar Crypt was walled in (leaving only a single entrance to the south), thereby limiting access to this room. The doorway in the southern wall of the West Pillar Crypt was also blocked off; as a result, access to the West Pillar Crypt was only via the East Pillar Crypt. Lastly, the dog-legged corridor leading to the West Magazines was closed off during this phase.

The finds which date to the final use of the Central Sanctuary Complex can now be used to help determine the function of these rooms during Phase II. Moreover, the context of the tablets found within the Central Sanctuary Sanctuary Complex (i.e. the tablets from the *RCB*) can be discussed in conjunction with the archaeological evidence.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, a total of ten pithoi belonging to this architectural phase were found in the East Pillar Crypt. It is assumed that these storage containers held olive oil, based on the contents of the Linear B tablets from the *RCB* which record oil

transactions (see Chapter 5, Section II.C). Based on this evidence, it is reasonable to assume that the Pillar Crypts were being used as a storage facility at this time.[846] In addition, the corridor that connected the pillar crypts to the West Magazines was walled off. If there was any ritual connection between the pillar crypts and magazines, as suggested by Hallager, they were not being used in this way during the fourth architectural phase.[847] It is possible, however, that the commodities originally stored in the magazines and accessed through the corridor in Phase I were moved to the Pillar Crypts (and other rooms in the Central Sanctuary Complex) in Phase II and stored in the large pithoi. If this were the case, it could be posited that the oil recorded in the Fh and Fp(2) series, which is specifically designated for religious purposes, was now stored in these previously sanctified rooms.

The ten pithoi stored in the East Pillar Crypt could probably hold up to 1,850 liters of oil, based on Evan's estimation that the average pithos held approximately 185 liters. If we estimated all of the oil quantities from the *RCB* which were likely to have been used for religious purposes, the total amounts to approximately 304 liters of oil (see Table 5-20 below).

[846] Hallager 1987: 172.
[847] Hallager 1987: 173-176.

Table 5-20: Oil Quantities in Fh and Fp(2) Series

Tablet	Recipient/Locale	Descriptional Term	Oil Quantity in Mycenaean Values	Quantity in Liters
Fh 9077	*56-ti[		OLE]1 S 1	38.4
Fp 5472	si-ja-ma		OLE 1 S[	38.4
Fp 354	ka-ra-e-i-jo		OLE 1 S 2	48.0
Fh 5502	de-u-ki-jo		OLE V 2	3.2
Fh 5467	]de	i-je[-ro	OLE 1 V 1	30.4
Fp(2) 363	da-*83-ja-de	i-je-ro	OLE S 2	19.2
Fh 365	da-]*83-ja-de		OLE V 1	1.6
Fh 343		e-pi-ko-wa	OLE 1 S 1 V 3	38.4
Fh 350		po-ro-ko-wa	OLE 2	57.6
Fh 348		qe-te-o	OLE 1	28.8
TOTAL				**304.0**

Note that this is a *very* conservative estimate: it only includes tablets on which oil quantities are provided and does not include the possible cult locales identified by Killen. If we were to add these oil amounts following the same criteria above, the total would be raised to 577.6 liters of oil.

It should be noted that these totals differ from those estimated by Bendall who calculates a minimum of 427.2+ liters used for religious purposes in both the Fh and Fp(2) series.[848] Our estimates differ for a number of interpretative reasons. First, Bendall considers religious a number of entries which I do not feel can confidently be interpreted as such. These include occupational terms in the dative plural and all of the tablets containing locales ending with the allative *de*. Moreover, she does not include *e-*

[848] Bendall calculates her totals in quantities of V. For the religious offering in the Fh series, she estimates 209+ v quantities of oil which equals 334.4 liters of oil (2007: 131) and in the Fp(2) set, she estimates 58+ v quantities which equals 92.8 liters of oil (2007: 133).

pi-ko-wa oil, disbursements designated for *po-ro-ko-wa*, and oil to be paid as a penalty (*qe-te-o/a*), nor does she believe that *si-ja-ma*[should be considered a divinity. Lastly, Bendall has attempted to account for some of the missing oil quantities by assuming that the minimum disbursement of oil would be 1 V. In this way, she is able to calculate the minimum amount of oil disbursements recorded by the palace.

Despite our differences in interpretation and methods of acquiring totals of oil for religious use, Bendall's calculations at the very least fall in between the two possible scenarios I have calculated. Both with and without the cult locales identified by Killen, the range falls between 304 and 577.6 liters. Of course, these amounts can only be considered rough estimates, given the very scanty nature of the Fs and Fp(2) series, the varying interpretations regarding which tablets could be understood as religious, and the fact that the tablets preserved may only provide a portion of the actual amount. For this reason, it is not possible to come to any definitive answers. It is, however, worth mentioning that 10 pithoi stored in the East Pillar Crypt could certainly accommodate all of the possible religious oil offerings recorded in the tablets from this complex, leaving ample space for any additional quantities which can be inferred from fragmentary tablets and from tablets which are completely missing from the archaeological record.

What can be said with some certainty is that the Pillar Crypts during Phase II are being used as storage facilities, rather than religious shrines. It is not likely that religious rites occurred in this room, since most of the space in the East Pillar Crypt was taken up by the pithoi and the southwestern entrance to the West Pillar Crypt was closed off. During this phase, then access to the West Pillar Crypt was only via the East Pillar Crypt

which was crowded with pithoi. It is possible that informal libations could have been poured into the stone-lined basins either when a new pithos was opened for the first time, or each time a quanitity of oil was removed from storage. Of course, such a theory is conjecture and cannot be proven. It must be remembered, though, that more formal religious ceremonies could have taken place on the second story, in the so-called Upper Column Room (see Chapter 2, Section II.C1). It is possible then that, during Phase II, the Pillar Crypts in the *RCB* were being used for religious storage. What else can be said with certainty is that the *RCB* itself served primarily as an administrative office for the recording and storage of Linear B tablets, that these tablets were concerned with records of oil, both religious and secular and perhaps that the oils being used for religious purposes which were recorded in these tablets were stored in the East and West Pillar Crypts.

It should be noted that the reconstruction of the Upper Column Room, immediately above the Pillar Crypts, is based on two column bases found in this area. However, these bases were actually reported to have found in the *RCB*, (not in the Pillar Crypts themselves), but their exact position or depth was not recorded (Panagiotaki 1999: 202-203). Panagiotaki questions whether these column bases would have originally come from an Upper Column Room. She believes that it is odd that the bases would have fallen into the *RCB*, and not into the fill of the Pillar Crypts. Though this is certainly a valid arguement, the fact that the *exact* location of these bases was not recorded and the post-depositional processes that resulted in their exact placement cannot accurately be

reconstructed based on the evidence currently available, the possibility that they were associated with an Upper Column Room cannot be entirely discarded.

The finds from the various rooms in the Central Sanctuary Complex that date to the final destruction of these rooms can now be used to help determine the function of this complex. The numerous pithoi found in this complex of rooms are particularly informative. As noted above, ten pithoi were found in the East Pillar Crypt.[849] Eight additional pithoi from the Room with the Tall Pithos[850] were recorded by Mackenzie and Evans, one of which is still *in situ*.[851] These pithoi were situated around a rectangular cist that was exposed and in use during the final phase of this room. Panagiotaki suggests that this cist, like the pithoi, may have been used for storage or to account for spillage from pithoi.[852] Three or four pithos bases were recovered from the *RCB,* one of which is still *in situ,* while the others can no longer be found.[853] Given the number of pithoi, it seems that the Central Sanctuary Complex functioned at least partly for storage.

In addition to the Fs and Fp(2) series, a few other Linear B tablets and inscribed sealings were found in the Central Sanctuary Complex. Six tablets and four inscribed

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[849] According to Mackenzie (DM/DB 1900, 28 April), as cited by Panagiotaki (1999: 223). The number of pithoi recorded by Evans, Mackenzie, and Fyfe, both in the East Pillar Crypt and in the other rooms of the *RCB* are often contadictory. For the most recent assessment, see Panagiotaki 1999.

[850] Referred to as the Great Pithos Room (GPR) by Panagiotaki 1999: 209-215.

[851] Referred to as the Medallion Pithos. The other pithoi were removed from the room and cannot be found. Panagiotaki found and catalogued fragments of 16 large pithoi in boxes labeled "Room of the Tall Pithos," but believes that some of these fragments may have come from other rooms in the Central Sanctuary Complex since the Room of Tall Pithos could not accommodate 17 pithoi (1999: 213, cat.no. 353, 354 a-d, and 355 a-d). Moreover, she provides a drawing from Mackenzie's Daybook which shows only five pithoi in this room (1999: figs. 61 and 62).

[852] The Medalion Pithos had a hole in the lower side that was aligned with the cist, suggesting that the pithos and cist may have functioned together in some way (Panagiotaki 1999: 215).

[853] Panagiotaki 1999: 267, cat. no. 349-351.

sealings[854] were found in the Room with the Niche, but the date of these is difficult to ascertain. According to Firth, access to the Room with the Niche was very limited in the final phase of this complex because an E-W crosswall built, perhaps to support a wall on the upper storey, created a small niche in the back of the room (Firth 2000-2001: 207).[855] The tablets and sealings were found in the niche area and Firth posits that, if this portion of the room was not being used after the construction of this crosswall, the tablets and sealings could have remained in this area for some time before the final destruction. If this is the case, then these tablets could belong to my Phase I. Given the problems assigning a proper phase to these tablets, they are not considered in this dissertation.

A few other finds have been assigned to the Room of the Tall Pithos, including a stirrup jar and lamp foot made of purple stone.[856] Unfortunately, both of these finds have been lost. Driessen believed that the stirrup jar, described by Mackenzie as having brown-black horizontal bands, suggested an LM IIIB date,[857] but this need not be the case.[858] Since this vessel no longer exists, its date cannot be confirmed.[859] A Linear B tablet, in two fragments, was also found in the vicinty of the Room of the Tall Pithos.[860] Lastly, a sealing fragment depicting part of the "Goddess on the Mountain Peak" was

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[854] The tablets are K 434, X 435, Gg 436, U 437, C 5089, L 5090; the noduli are Wn 8713+8752 and Ws 1701, 8494, 8753. This is an odd assortment of tablets and sealings and they are seemingly unrelated to each other, but their content and context are perhaps worthy of future research.
[855] Firth 2000-2001: 207.
[856] Panagiotaki believes that both the stirrup jar and the lamp foot were found on the floor of the Room of the Tall Pithos (1999: 213).
[857] Driessen 1990: 69.
[858] Popham 1970: 45.
[859] Mackenzie (DM/DB 1900, 28 April), as cited by Panagiotaki (1999: 213).
[860] Gg 711, accordint to Panagiotaki (1999: 268, cat. no. 359), but problems with the findspot of this tablet is discussed below.

found. This sealing is identical to several others found in the Tripartite Shrine area and is discussed in more detail below.

The Linear B tablet from the Room of the Tall Pithos deserves further discussion. Gg 711 was assigned by Olivier to the Temple Repositories (findspot E3). However, on Olivier's map of findspots, E3 is actually the Room of the Tall Pithos, not the Temple Repositories.[861] Recently, Firth has shown that this was an incorrect assignment.[862] According to Firth, the tablet seems to have fallen from an upper story and was probably originally part of the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco deposit, located just to the north of the Central Sanctuary Complex, where other tablets containing similar information were found.[863] Following Firth, I have discussed this tablet above as part of the Gallery of Fresco tablets.[864] Uf 432 was found in the East Pillar Crypt, but it is too fragmentary to be informative.[865] Lastly, C 394 (discussed above) and Oa 733 were reported to have been found "Near the north entrance to the Room of the Column Bases" (findspot E1bis).[866] Unfortunately, the findspots of these two tablets have also been called into question. Neither of them appear to be part of the same deposit as the Fh and Fp(2) series. The condition of Oa 733 is similar to that of U 736, reported to have been found in the Bath Room (findspot H2), and Firth posits that perhaps the findspots for one of

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[861] This error may account for Panagiotaki's assignment of this tablet to the Room of the Tall Pithos (referred to as the Great Pithos Room in her publication).

[862] No tablets were recorded in the *Handlist* as coming from the Temple Repositories. Instead, he posits that it may have been recovered in the Room of the Tall Pithos where a tablet was reported to have been found (Firth 2000-2001: 206).

[863] Gg 711 is a vase ideogram and records quantities of honey in amphorae and possibly honeycombs (*KE*), so fits well with other Gg tablet deposit.

[864] See Chapter 5, Section II.B.

[865] Uf 432 has preserved the ideograms *DA* and *PA* and a partial word [ ]-*ro*-[ ]-*pu*.

[866] Firth 2000-2001: 205-206.

these tablets was confused. C 394 is interesting for the religious information that it provides. It records two divine names: *pa-de* which has been discussed at length in the previous section;[867] and *pa-ja-o-ne* which may be a graphic variant of a theonymn found on V 52 (see Chapter 4, Section II.F). It also contains ideograms for three different types of animals: a bull (BOS^{m}), a ram (OVIS ^{m}), and a boar (CAP ^{m}). However, this tablet is so fragmentary that little can be said with certainty about it. The fact that it is a singleton also makes interpretation difficult.

The last issue to consider is the possible existence of the "Tripartite Shrine" located just to the north of the entrance into the Central Sanctuary Complex. The reconstruction of this shrine would have partially blocked the view into the *RCB* and the Pillar Crypts and would have narrowed the entrance into the complex. The various problems with reconstructing such a shrine have been addressed in detail in Chapter 4 (see Section III.A). At best, it can be supposed that, if a "Tripartite Shrine" existed in the Central Sanctuary Complex, it would have been a fairly light structure, serving as a decorative façade. The only finds from the "Tripartite Shrine" area, however, could provide additional support for the existence of the shrine. Several clay seal impressions depicting a female figure on the top of a mountain flanked by lions with a columnar shrine in the background were found in the area behind the "Tripartite Shrine" at Knossos.[868] These sealings probably fell from an upper storey and date to the last phase

[867] See Chapter 5, Section II.E4.
[868] Evans 1921-1935: II, 804, 808 and fig. 528.

of palatial administration.[869] However, the sealings do belong to a period when Mycenaeans were in control of the Knossos palace and may have been used as the seal of a Mycenaean administrator.

Based on this evaluation of the architecture and finds from the Central Sanctuary Complex, and applying the Indicators of Cult outlined in Chapter 1, I believe that its identification as a cult locale during Phase II is **UNLIKELY.** Appendix II.A contains a summary of the architectural features of the Central Sanctuary Complex and the recovered artifacts.[870]

B. The Throne Room Complex

As discussed in Chapter 4 (Section III.B), the Throne Room Complex is located on the west side of the Central Court to the north of the Central Sanctuary Complex. It consists of several rooms, including an anteroom, the so-called "Throne Room" itself, an "Inner Shrine," and a number of service rooms (see fig. 4.8). All of the moveable finds from this complex were deposited during the final destruction of the palace in LH III,[871] most of which seem to have fallen from the upper storey, or Loggia. The Loggia was accessed via a staircase to the north of the anteroom. The wealth of the finds which fell from above suggests that a treasure deposit, similar to the Temple Repositories and the Vat Room deposits found in the Central Sanctuary Complex, was stored in the Loggia.[872]

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[869] Gesell 1985: 87.
[870] Based primarily on Gesell 1985, with some modifications.
[871] For a summary of the debate on when in LH III the palace was destroyed, see Chapter 3, Section II.
[872] Gesell 1985: 21.

It is possible then that the Loggia may have been used for ritual purposes, but determining what types of rituals occurred is more difficult to assess.

As noted in Chapter 4 (Section III.B), the Throne Room underwent significant changes throughout its history. During my Phase I, the Central Court was raised and two steps leading down to the Anteroom were added.[873] During Mirie's last phase, which corresponds to my Phase II, additional stairs were added to the Anteroom to account for the last paving of the Central Court in LM IIIA2.[874] Otherwise, the layout of the Throne Room remained constant during Phase I and II (fig. 4.8), including the wall paintings depicting griffins and incurving altars which serve as strong indicators of its ritual use. It is unnecessary to outline the layout of the complex which has already been discussed in detail in Chapter 4 (Section III.B). Rather, what is essential is to discuss the finds from this complex which date to Phase II.

I begin with several stone alabastra found on the floor of the Throne Room itself. These gypsum vessels were found in close proximity to a large pithos, which seems to have fallen from the eastern portion of the north bench and found in several fragments.[875] At least five, and perhaps as many as twelve alabastra, were found in the Throne Room.[876] Evans reports that one of the alabastra was found *in situ* in a narrow corridor located just to the west of the Lustral Basin and notes the presence of additional markings on the pavement indicating the placement of the other alabastra (see fig. 4.8). He

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[873] Mirié 1979: 56ff.

[874] Mirié 1979: 56 and Popham 1970: 55. Popham discusses LM IIIA2 pottery from below the last paving of the Central Court.

[875] It should be noted that gypsum is a particularly unusual material for alabastra.

[876] Regarding the number of alabastra, the accounts differ. Evans (1921-1935: IV, 938-944) discusses a total of six alabastra, five that were found near the broken pithos and another from a corridor to the west of the Lustral Basin; Hägg (1988: 99-102) states that von Arbin (1984) reports that at least eight alabastra were found in the Throne Room and that Warren (1969: 5-8) has identified an additional four fragments. Magrill (1987: 155-167) also discusses the varying accounts of the number and placement of these alabastra.

suggests that this area was where the alabastra were permanently stored and that at the time of the destruction of the palace, a ceremony was in progress in which the alabastra were carried to the pithos in order transfer oil to these vessels using some type of ladle.[877] Hägg and others note that no such ladle was recovered from the excavations.[878] Moreover, an evaluation of Evan's notebooks shows that the *in situ* alabastron found to the west of the Lustral Basin may have originally been found in the northwest corner of the Throne Room.[879] The lack of a ladle among the finds and the discrepancies in the both the original placement and number of alabastra calls into question Evans reconstruction of the "Closing Scene"[880] in the Throne Room where preparations were being made for an anointing ceremony to take place in the Lustral Basin at the exact moment of the palace's final destruction.

Perhaps more important to determine is the possible function of these stone alabastra. Hägg also proposes that these vessels, based on their shape, were probably used to hold oil, either a thin, liquid perfumed oil or a thicker, more viscous unguent.[881] He, like Waterhouse,[882] notes the difficulties with pouring liquids from such a vessel, given the lack of a spout, the awkwardness of the shape and the weightiness of the stone. Based on parallels with later vessels, Hägg suggests that the shape is best suited for the mixing of perfumes and oils.[883]

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[877] Evans 1921-1935: IV, 938-944.
[878] Hägg 1988: 99; Waterhouse 1988: 361.
[879] Hägg (1988: 102) publishes an original drawing from the Throne Room excavation in which an alabastron is depicted in the northwest corner of the Throne Room and no alabastron in the southwest corner.
[880] Evans 1921-1935: IV, 942ff.
[881] He notes that this coincides with Linear B evidence from Pylos which describes oils which are either pourable liquids or oil that is smeared on.
[882] Waterhouse 1988: 365.
[883] Hägg (1988: 104) compares the alabastron shape to that of the *plemochoe* of the Classical period and the *exaleiptron*, an Archaic period vessel.

Waterhouse supports Hägg's suggestions that these alabastra may have been used to hold aromatics based on the fact that most other alabastra, both stone and ceramic, occur primarily in funerary contexts between LH/LM II- LH/LM IIIA2.[884] The fact that flat alabastra are so often found in tombs at the very least may point to the ritual nature of the vessel, even if the exact religious function cannot be determined. What is interesting in Waterhouse's study is the fact that the manufacture of flat alabastra ends in LM IIIA2. She uses this information to establish a latest possible date for the ceremony which took place in the Throne Room and suggests that after LM IIIA2, the Throne Room was no longer used for ritual purposes.[885] Hägg, however, rightly notes that, although the *floruit* for the *manufacture* of stone alabasta ends in LM IIIA1,[886] their use could have continued into later periods. Given that these alabastra were made of stone and likely used in rituals, it is reasonable to assume that they were considered prestige objects with religious significance and therefore used for ritual purposes for a considerably long period of time, perhaps beginning as early as LM II. What is equally interesting is that flat alabastra of this type are completely unattested in Minoan sanctuaries,[887] but can occur in Mycenaean shrines.[888] It is possible that the presence of these vessels in the Throne Room, not only suggests a continuity of ritual use from the first phase of the Mycenaean regime, but also points to the introduction by this regime of a new ritual object into the Knossian ritual assemblage.

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[884] Hägg (1988: 103) rightly notes that, although the floruit for the manufacture of stone alabasta ends in LM IIIA1 (in agreement with Warren 1969), their use could have continued later. Given that these alabastra were made of stone and likely used in rituals, it is reasonable to assume that they were considered prestige object with religious significance and therefore used continuously

[885] Waterhouse 1988: 365.

[886] Hägg (1988: 103). His LM IIIA1 date is in agreement with Warren 1969 and Sakellarakis 1971.

[887] Hägg (1988: 105).

[888] For example, in Room A at Methana, mentioned in Chapter 2, Section III.C2a (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004).

More difficult, and perhaps impossible, to ascertain is the precise rituals which would have involved the use of these stone alabastra. As noted above, Evans posited that rituals took place in the Throne Room Lustral Basin in which oil from the alabastra was poured over votaries. He too notes the difficulty of pouring from these vessels and suggests that the oil was removed from the vessels with a ladle. Hägg, on the other hand, offers a different possibility. Though he does not come to any firm conclusions, he suggests that perfumed oil may have been used for a ritual ceremony, perhaps carried in a procession (given that the alabastron shape is suitable for transport with minimum spillage), even though no alabastron appear in frescoes of ritual processions. He also posits that the perfumed oil could have been used in a ritual which took place in the Throne Room Complex itself and may have been associated with the person who would have sat on the throne. As discussed in Chapter 4 (Section III.B), who might have occupied the throne is still heavily debated among scholars. Two possibilities are most often suggested: a female priestess and a male (presumably Mycenaean) ruler.[889] If a priestess, Hägg suggests that the perfume-filled alabastra could have been votive offerings.[890] If a ruler, then perhaps the perfumed oil was used in some type of royal anointment ceremony.

To my mind, it is clear that our overall understanding of the Throne Room and the rituals that may have occurred during its last phases of administration (i.e. post-LM IB destruction) is sketchy at best. Our knowledge is so uncertain that we do not know if the occupant of the throne itself was a religious (presumably female) functionary or political (presumably male) one, though the religious vs. political dichotomy is not entirely

[889] The problems with these interpretations are addressed in detail in the preceeding chapter. See Chapter 4, Section III.B, for a brief discussion on the occupant of the throne.
[890] Hägg (1988: 104-105).

necessary. Furthermore, it seems a bit presumptuous first to suggest possible rituals that may have taken place in these rooms when the evidence is so scanty and then to provide differing possibilities based on the possible occupant of the throne. Admittedly, it is frustrating to be able to say so little with certainty about the possible rituals that took place in such a clearly religious space. However, it is not my intention to push the evidence farther than it should. At this point, I believe that it safe to suggest that rituals involving stone alabastra containing perfumed oils or unguents may have taken place within the Throne Room Complex during the Mycenaean phases of administration and that the introduction of these ritual vessels may be attributed to the new regime.

Turning to the other finds from the Throne Room Complex, a few objects were found on a small ledge in the so-called "Inner Shrine." Evans referred to this ledge as an altar based on the finds found on it and its location, immediately opposite the western doorway leading out of the Throne Room proper and into the service rooms in the back.[891] On this ledge, a silver bracelet and some gold foil were unearthed. In addition, a stone lamp with a high pedestal was also found in this room, though apparently not on the ledge itself. If this ledge did serve as some type of altar, the bracelet and the gold foil remnants may be interpreted as votive offerings. Evans suggested that these finds belong with a larger deposit of precious materials that fell from the upper floor into the Lustral Basin,[892] though he does not explain why these finds were so far removed from those contained with the Lustral Basin area.

More important may be the placement of this ledge immediately opposite the door to the Throne Room. Cult objects could have been placed on this ledge and, when the door to the Throne Room was opened, would have been revealed to the people in the

[891] Evans 1921-1935: IV, 910, 920.
[892] Evans 1921-1935:IV, 920.

neighboring room. Evans proposed that this ledge probably held cult "images of the goddess and her votaries, the Sacral Horns, and Double Axes,"[893] but no evidence exists to support such a claim. That one of the griffins points toward the door leading into the Inner Shrine may support his interpretation, though cannot confirm it. Others have claimed that the Throne Room may have been the setting for a ritual epiphany of the goddess and that a priestesses, dressed in the guise of a goddess, would have emerged from this doorway.[894] These claims are strongly based on the belief that the Minoan ritual practices often involved the epiphany of the goddess, which may in fact have been the case, and such rituals may have occurred during the purely Minoan phases of use. However, little evidence exists in the context of the Throne Room Complex that could substantially support this theory and whether such Minoan-style rituals continued to be performed during the last phases of the palace is equally uncertain.

As mentioned above, numerous finds were recovered from the Lustral Basin, apparently fallen from the upper floor. This assemblage is often referred to as the Treasure deposit from the Loggia.[895] The finds included several fragmentary pieces of crystal inlay,[896] a crystal bowl, a crystal pommel originally belonging to small dagger, a fragment of a steatite ostrich-egg-shaped rhyton, a plaque with a bull painted on it, and cameo depicting a dagger on a belt, and a fragment of a miniature tridacna shell made of malachite. The only find that clearly points to the religious nature of this deposit is the rhyton fragment, the ritual function of which in Minoan religion and its association with

[893] Evans 1921-1935:IV, 920.
[894] Hägg 1983: 184ff; Neimeier 1987; see also, Reusch 1958; Mirié 1979, as cited by Hägg 1988: 104.
[895] Gesell 1985: 89. It is referred to as such based on the similar character of this deposit with the treasure deposit from the Temple Repositories of the Central Sanctuary Complex (Evans 1921-1935: IV, 928).
[896] Evans (1921-1935: IV, 930-931) suggests that many of these were originally attached to gaming boards, and others may have been used for personal adornment, such as jewelry.

Lustral Basins is discussed in Chapter 2 (Section II.B).[897] The other finds, however, do suggest a certain expenditure of wealth, which helps to support a religious interpretation. More problematic is the fact that these finds fell from the upper storey and are in a secondary context. Should such items be used to determine the ritual function of the Throne Room Complex and if so, how can we be certain that such objects were used in or significant to the rituals that may have occurred in these rooms? Unfortunately, definitive answer to these questions cannot be determined, but the layout of the Throne Room Complex does suggest some ritual connection with the rooms above it. The parapet surrounding the Lustral Basin supported an open colonnade and created a balcony on the upper storey. Therefore, those in the second storey Loggia had a direct view down into the Lustral Basin from above. Also, direct access to the Loggia was possible via a staircase directly to the north the Anteroom. If there was some ritual connection between the two floors of the Throne Room Complex, it is possible that the finds from the Lustral Basin, especially the stone rhyton, may have been used in cultic rites performed in these rooms.

The date of manufacture of the treasure deposit from the Loggia belong the Minoan phases occupation (MM III-LM IB). It is important to remember that these dates apply only to the *manufacture* of these vessels. It is possible that, like the stone alabastra discussed above, these Minoan relics could have been considered sacred implements and their use could have continued into the Mycenaean phases of occupation. If this is the case, then there is evidence in the Throne Room Complex of both the introduction of new ritual objects in the form of flat alabastra and the continuation of Minoan religious paraphernalia, such as rhyta.

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[897] Though, perhaps a case could be made for the ritual implications of the tridacna shell since triton shells are often found in Minoan ritual assemblages.

As noted in Chapter 4, Mirié has suggested that the Lustral Basin, in the later phases of the Throne Room complex, would have been filled in when the rooms were no longer being used for cultic purposes. Her arguments, however, are refuted by Hägg, who states that no evidence exists for floor or a pavement on top of the basin.[898] It is true that some Lustral Basins were filled in during the Mycenaean phases of administration at Knossos, such as the Lustral Basin in the Little Palace at Knossos.[899] Moreover, no other Lustral Basins on Crete were in use subsequent to the LM IB destructions that took place throughout the island.[900] However, since no evidence for the filling in or abandonment of the Throne Room Lustral Basin exists, and since the other rooms in this complex continued to be used after LM II, it is reasonable to suspect that the Lustral Basin was still in use during this period. Moreover, the continued use of Minoan ritual artifacts, such as the rhyton and the tridacna shell, may suggest a continuation of the rituals associated with the Lustral Basin on the part of the new Greek-speaking elites. The fact that the Throne Room Lustral Basin is the only basin that was in use at this time and it belongs well within in the period when Mycenaeans were functioning in an administrative capacity in the Palace of Minos may reflect an attempt on the part of the Mycenaean administrators ease the transition for the Minoan elites by respecting and continuing the established the religious traditions within the palace.

Based on this evaluation of the architecture and finds from the Throne Room Complex, and applying the Indicators of Cult outlined in Chapter 1, I believe that its identification as a cult locale during Phase II is **STRONG.** Appendix II.B contains a

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[898] Hagg 1982: 79.
[899] This Lustral Basin was permanently filled in at the end of LM I or beginning of LM II and in LM IIIB the basin was filled in and turned into a bench sanctuary (Gesell 1985: 24; Hatzaki 2005).
[900] Gesell 1985: 32.

summary of the architectural features of the Throne Room Complex, the recovered artifacts, and an analysis of religious function.[901]

C. The Shrine of the Double Axes

The final phase of the palace of Knossos witnesses the construction of a new shrine. Located in the southeastern section of the palace, the Shrine of Double Axes is a small room just to the east of the Corridor of the Sword Tablets (see Fig. 5.1). The floor of the room is constructed in three levels: (1) the lowest floor closest to the entrance was made of stamped earth; (2) a slightly raised floor consisted of plaster with waterworn pebbles; and (3) a clay and rubble bench with plaster along the vertical face and waterworn pebbles on the upper surface lined the back wall of the shrine.[902] Numerous finds were recovered from this shrine, the most impressive of which were found *in situ* on the bench itself: two horns of consecration and five anthropomorphic figures. The figures included one so-called "Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms" (hereafter MGUAs) with a bird on her tiara,[903] two female worshippers,[904] one male worshipper,[905] and one female figure in a half-seated position with arms folded over her breasts.[906] A miniature steatite double axe was also recovered from the bench. The horns of consecration were made of

[901] Based primarily on Gesell 1985, with some modifications.
[902] Evans 1921-1935: II, 335-344; Gesell 1985: 90-92, cat. no. 37; Gesell 2004: 134-135.
[903] Evans (1921-1935: II, 336-339) first interpreted this figure as the great Minoan Goddess, and more specificially referred to her as the Dove Goddess.
[904] These figures are assumed to be worshippers based on their pose with their hands placed under their breasts (Gesell 2004: 134). Evans referred to them as the goddess's handmaidens (1921-1935: II, 340).
[905] The male figure stands with arms outstretched and is holding out a bird.
[906] Originally termed a Neolithic-type figurine by Evans (1921-1935: I, 52, fig. 14; II, 342), based on its fairly crude style and fabric with its incised decoration and chalk inlay. As discussed below, Rethemiotakis (1997: 67) offers a new date LM IIIA2 for this figure.

plaster over a clay core and both contained a socket, presumably for the placement of a double axe.[907]

The remaining finds from this shrine were found on the floors of the room. A plaster tripod offering table had been permanently fixed to the raised pebbled floor (fig. 5.4).[908] Numerous vessels were recovered both on the pebbled floor and the stamped clay floor. The pottery finds include a painted stirrup jar depicting an octopus of LM IIIB date, several one-handled 'champagne' glasses and some plain jugs and bowls.[909] Gesell states that the stirrup jar, 'champagne' glasses and the fine glaze on the figures all point to an LM IIIB date for this deposit.[910] Recently, however, Rethemiotaki has dated the MGUA figure to LM IIIA2 based on comparisons with dancing figures from Palaikastro and LM IIIA2 pottery motifs.[911] The LM IIIB stirrup jar then provides the *terminus ante quem* for the use of the shrine, even though some of the finds may have been manufactured in LM IIIA2.

The Shrine of the Double Axes can be categorized as a bench sanctuary. It is not surprising that the only completely new shrine built in the palace proper at Knossos during Phase II is a bench sanctuary. As Gesell notes, in the Post-palatial period, Pillar Crypts and Lustral Basins fall out of use, whereas bench sanctuaries, often in more simplified forms, continue to be built.[912] As noted in Chapter 2 (Section II.C-D), bench sanctuaries are the most common type of sanctuaries built on the Greek mainland by Mycenaeans. Perhaps the construction of this shrine type suggests a Mycenaean affinity for such forms of cult locales.

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[907] Evans 1921-1935: II, 336. See also, Evans reconstruction in fig. 5.2.
[908] Evans 1921-1935: II, 336.
[909] 'Champagne glass' is the term used by Evans 1921-1935: II,
[910] Gesell: 1985: 92.
[911] Rethemiotakis 1997: 119, n. 3; 1998: 66-68.
[912] Gesell 1985: 42.

The MGUA figure is worth discussing in more detail (see fig. 5.3). The figure stands with both arms raised and bent at the elbows in a 45 degree angle. A small bird is perched on top of her head. Her facial features and details of her clothing are painted on in a fine, black glaze. Her shirt is decorated with simple black bands, whereas her blouse contains elaborate painted details. Her jewelry is also rendered in paint and includes four necklaces and three bracelets. MGUA figures of this type are common in Late Bronze Age Crete beginning as early LM IIIA[913] and are by far the clearest example of the iconography of divinity at this time.[914] It is interesting then that these figures are introduced at a time when Mycenaeans dominate central and western Crete, and perhaps their introduction to the religious iconographic repertoire can be attributed to these early Greek-speakers.[915] If this is the case, then the Shrine of the Double Axes contains a blend of both Minoan religious symbols in the form of the horns of consecration and the double axe, while also incorporating new symbols with the MGUAs.

Perhaps another 'Mycenaean' feature of this shrine is the presence of a socket in the horns of consecration for the placement of a double axe. As noted in Chapter 2 (Section II.A1), the earliest extant example of horns of consecration with a socket for a double axe dates to LM IIIA2, well within the period characterized by a Mycenaean presence on the island of Crete. D'Agata sees this change in the form of the horns of consecration as reflecting a change in the religious system on Crete at this time, perhaps influenced by the newly-installed Mycenaean presence on the island.[916] It is interesting then that the Shrine of Double Axes attests to the early use of this modified Minoan

[913] Though Peatfield (1994) considers MGUAs a purely post-palatial phenomenon, it seems clear that they originate in LM IIIA (Gesell 1985: 41-42; 2004: 134; Rethemiotakis 1997; Rehak and Younger 1998: 164).
[914] Rethemiotakis 1997.
[915] Especially since the symbols most prominant in Mycenaean religion are anthropomorphic figures and figurines, see Chapter 2, Section II.A.
[916] D'Agata 1992: 253-254.

religious symbol. It is possible that the Mycenaean elites who were integrating the horns of consecration into their religious iconography misunderstood the meaning behind this symbol and instead were attempting to incorporate the two most ubiquitous Minoan ritual markers, the horns and the double axe, into a single, unified symbol. At the very least, I believe the use of the revamped horns of consecration with double axe socket and the introduction of a new representation of divinity in the form of the Goddess with Upraised Arms may demonstrates the Mycenaean influence in the changing ritual assemblage on Crete.

Based on this evaluation of the architecture and finds from the Shrine of the Double Axes, and applying the Indicators of Cult outlined in Chapter 1, I believe that its identification as a cult locale during Phase II is **STRONG.** Appendix II.C contains a summary of the architectural features of the Shrine of the Double Axes, the recovered artifacts and an analysis of its identification as a cult locale.[917]

D. Summary of Archaeological Evidence

The archaeological evidence from the Palace at Knossos suggests that during Phase II, significant changes were made to the already-established cult locales in the palatial complex and at least one additional shrine was constructed during this period. At the beginning of LM IIIA1, portions of the palace at Knossos suffered from a fire destruction, as evidenced by the burned Linear B tablets from the *RCT*. Following this destruction, the area of the Central Sanctuary Complex underwent some reconstruction and reworking of the rooms. The *RCT* and the rooms to west of it were filled with debris and were no longer used. The *RCB,* the Pillar Crypts and the rooms to the north,

[917] Based primarily on Gesell 1985, with some modifications.

however, were still functional, but it seems that they were now being used in a different capacity. The Pillar Crypts are clearly being used as storage facilities, rather than religious shrines, based on the numerous pithoi found in these rooms. It is possible that the oil stored in the previously-sanctified rooms contained the oil destined for religious locales recorded in the Linear B tablets from the *RCB,* though this theory cannot be confirmed. What does seem certain is that official religious rites probably did *not* occur in the Pillar Crypts, since most of the space was reserved for the pithoi. Moreover, numerous other pithoi were stored in the rooms to the north, suggesting that in Phase II, most of the Central Sanctuary Complex ceased to function in a religious capacity.

Whether the *RCB* was still used for ritual purposes is more difficult to assess. None of the moveable finds dating to Phase II are particularly religious in nature, with the possible exception of the bench along the north wall which could be understood as an attention focusing device. However, this bench was devoid of finds that would suggest it was being used as a place for ritual offerings. In this case, perhaps this bench is just a bench and the *RCB* should not be interpreted as a bench sanctuary during Phase II. Moreover, the numerous Linear B tablets recovered from the *RCB* indicate that this room was certainly being used in an administrative capacity to record the comings and goings of various types of oil under palatial control.

The only indication that these rooms may have had some religious significance is the possible existence of the "Tripartite Shrine." The various problems with reconstructing such a shrine have been addressed in detail in Chapter 4 (see Section III.A). At best, it can be supposed that, if a "Tripartite Shrine" existed in the Central Sanctuary Complex, it would have been a fairly light structure, serving as a decorative façade. That the "Tripartite Shrine" carried with it some religious significance can perhaps be supported by several clay seal impressions depicting a female figure on the

top of a mountain flanked by lions with a columnar shrine which were found in this area.[918] However, although these sealings seem to represent a religious scene, the use of the seals themselves was likely administrative.

The situation in the Throne Room Complex is different. Very few architectural changes occurred and the moveable finds from these rooms suggest continued religious use. First, the wall paintings depicting griffins and incurved altars, originally painted in Phase I, flanked the central throne in the main room and were still visible during Phase II. The Lustral Basin was still in use and may have had a visual connection to the rooms in the Loggia. The presence of a steatite rhyton which fell into the Lustral Basin from the upper floor supports both the ritual use of the Lustral Basin and its connection to the second storey room. What is most interesting here is the continued use of such a clearly *Minoan*-style sanctuary by the newly-installed Mycenaean elites, when all other Lustral Basins and Pillar Crypts (including those in Central Sanctuary Complex) go out of use. The Throne Room Lustral Basin is the only shrine type at the palace at Knossos during Phase II that is *not* a bench sanctuary.

I believe that the continued use of the Lustral Basin, when all other types of Minoan shrines (except bench sanctuaries) are abandoned, was an intentional act on the part of the newly-installed Mycenaean administrators. It could certainly be viewed as a wise political move on the part of the new regime to maintain important Minoan religious cult places (and presumably the rituals associated with them), at the very least to convey the appearance of continuity during a period of great discontinuity. It is particularly significant, however, that the one Lustral Basin in use at this time is located within the depths of the palace, in perhaps one of the most important ceremonial rooms in the

[918] Evans 1921-1935: II, 804, 808 and fig. 528.

complex. Given its location, this shrine probably served only the Knossian palatial elites, who mostly likely consisted of both Greek-speakers from the mainland, and former Minoan elites. In such a situation, the new regime would want to maintain good relations and provide the impression of continued religious beliefs and practices by leaving intact one of the most significant cult locales in the palace complex. Despite the appearance of continuity, the cult equipment from the Throne Room Complex suggests that certain changes in cult paraphernalia did occur. On the one hand, we see the continued use of a Minoan stone rhyta in connection with the Lustral Basin. Yet, we also witness the introduction of new cult objects, such as the flat alabastra, that have funerary significance in LH/LM II-IIIA2 and may have been introduced by the new regime. What is more difficult to determine, unfortunately, is whether the types of rituals performed during the Minoan phases of the Throne Room were also continued during Phase II. It is likely that offerings were placed on the ledge of the "Inner Shrine," as indicated by the silver bracelet and the remnants of gold leaf. Such offerings, when the western door of the Throne Room was opened, could have been revealed to those within the Throne Room Complex. It is also possible that processions took place in which perfumed oils were carried in the stone alabastra, but the route of such a procession cannot be determined. Otherwise, the perfume-filled alabastra could have served as ritual offerings to the divine. What cannot be proven is whether the Throne Room was used for epiphanic rituals, which were believed to have occurred during the Minoan phases.[919]

The Shrine of the Double Axes represents the only new shrine built in the palace complex since the LM IB destruction and the nature of this shrine is quite different from those in the Central Sanctuary and Throne Room Complexes. First, it is quite small,

[919] Hägg 1983.

consisting of a single room, rather than a series of rooms (i.e. anteroom and main room) surrounded by several service areas. Instead, it is a modest shrine with a small offering table in the middle of the room and a bench for the placement of cult equipment and offerings. It is also uncertain when this shrine was first constructed. The Throne Room and Central Sanctuary Complexes were in continuous use during both Phase I and Phase II, though it is debated when they ceased to be used (either in LM IIIA2 or IIIB1). For the Shrine of the Double Axes, we know that it must have been in use during LM IIIB, based on the decorated stirrup jar, but whether it was also used during LM IIIA is open to question. At the very least, we can be certain that the MGUA figure was manufactured in LM IIIA2, though we cannot be certain if this figure was used in *this* shrine as early as LM IIIA2.

As in the Throne Room complex, a blend of Minoan and Mycenaean characteristics is evident in the cult paraphernalia. For the most part, the symbolism is canonical Minoan with the presence of two horns of consecration and a miniature double axe. However, the horns of consecration, with their central sockets, are being used as holders for double axes, a distinctly late feature of this cult object and one that may be attributed to the newly-installed Mycenaean presence on the island. Moreover, the introduction of the MGUA figure into the religious iconography can also be seen as a late feature and one that may have been influenced by the Mycenaeans.

Based on the archaeological remains from Phase II at Knossos, we see that the Greek-speaking rulers of the palace were quite inconsistent in the way in which they dealt with the established cult locales within the palace proper. In one case, they completely changed the function of the Central Sanctuary Complex as an important center for cult and instead used these rooms primarily for storage and administration. In the Throne Room Complex, however, very few changes were made to these ceremonial rooms

(except for the introduction of new cult equipment), suggesting some continuity of use. Lastly, a completely new shrine is constructed that incorporates powerful Minoan religious symbols combined with mainland elements.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

I. RELIGION AT KNOSSOS DURING PHASE I

During the Minoan phases of the palace at Knossos, numerous different types of Minoan-style shrines were in use simultaneously. Three Lustral Basins existed in the palace: one in the Throne Room, the Northwest Lustral Basin and the Southeast Lustral Basin. At least two, perhaps as many as four, Pillar Crypts were also in use: two in the Central Sanctuary Complex (East and West), and two other possible crypts: one in the Room of the Lotus Lamp[920] and the Southwest Pillar Crypt,[921] though the date for this last example is difficult to confirm. In contrast, the only example of what could be termed a bench sanctuary existed in the palace proper, namely in the Throne Room Complex, where according to Mirié, stone benches were added in the Throne Room and in the Anteroom in the beginning of the Neopalatial period.

In Phase I, the situation at Knossos is considerably different; the number of typically Minoan-style shrines has decreased drastically. Both the Northwest and

[920]Though the stratigraphy in this area is quite complicated, Evans (1921-1935: I, 136; III, 15-25) identified a gypsum floor of an MM IIB date (overlying an MM IIA floor), which coincides with a central block in the middle of the Room of Lotus Lamp. Evans believed this block supported a central pillar, probably made of wood and posited that the chamber immediately above this basement room would have housed a single column, as was typical for Minoan-style pillar crypts (1921-1935: III, 18).

[921] Also known as the Great Propylon Pillar Crypt. This pillar crypt has been reconstructed by Evans, with an Upper Column Room above it (1921-1935: IV, 3-5). Unfortunately, the dates of use for this room are based on a 4 meter deep pit (which Evans identified as a votive deposit dating to LM IA) immediately outside this room. However, the stratigraphical relationship between the pit and crypt is uncertain. It is unclear if this pit was in use during the period when the room was functioning as a pillar crypt or if it pre-dates the room itself, and may be serving as some type of foundation deposit, perhaps designating the area as sacred.

Southeast Lustral Basins were filled in and built over during MM III.[922] Moreover, no other Lustral Basins were constructed to replace them, leaving the Throne Room Lustral Basin as the only shrine of this type in LM II – early LM IIIA1. A similar situation may have existed for Pillar Crypts, but unfortunately, we cannot be certain based on the current evidence available whether the Southwest Pillar Crypt and the crypt in the Room of the Lotus Lamp were in use. At the very least, the Central Sanctuary Complex Pillar Crypts are the only shrines of this type in the palace that were definitively being used during Phase I, and it does not seem that new pillar crypts were constructed at this time. On the other hand, a bench was added to the anteroom of the Central Sanctuary Complex, thereby increasing the number of bench sanctuaries at the palace to two. Lastly, a "Tripartite Shrine" may have been constructed as a façade to the Central Sanctuary Complex.

A few things are worth noting here. First, it is interesting that, during the first phase of the palace at Knossos that attests to the presence of Greek-speakers in Knossian administration, at least one example of *purely* Minoan-style shrines, i.e. Lustral Basins and Pillar Crypts, exists at the palace at this time. If "Mycenaeans" were in control of the palace at this time (and I believe the documents from the *RCT* suggest that mainland Greeks maintained some control over the state at this time), it is significant that they chose to continue the use of these Minoan-style shrines, and presumably some of the rituals associated with them. Such actions perhaps demonstrate a conscious effort on the part of the new regime to at least give the appearance of religious continuity, which of course would have been a smart move politically and socially.

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[922] Gesell 1985: 24-25, 90, 92. Gesell posits that the Northwest Lustral Basin went out of use after the construction of the Little Palace and that the rites originally performed in the Northwest Lustral Basin were moved to the Little Palace.

Moreover, this phase witnesses the construction of benches in the Central Sanctuary Complex. As noted in Chapter 2 (Section II.C4 and III.C-D), the bench sanctuary is common in both Minoan and Mycenaean religious architecture. In fact, it is the *only* Minoan shrine type that occurs on the Greek mainland, suggesting that, of the Minoan shrine types that the Mycenaeans came into contact with during the early phases of the Late Bronze Age, the bench sanctuary suited the religious needs of Mycenaeans more so than other Minoan shrine types. If this is the case, it is not surprising then that the Central Sanctuary Complex, one of the most important shrines at the palace, is furnished with new benches at this time. Given the mainland affinity for bench sanctuaries, perhaps this new addition can be viewed as a reflection of Mycenaean tastes.

Lastly, the possibility exists that a new Minoan-style shrine, the "Tripartite Shrine," was added to the front of the Central Sanctuary Complex during Phase I. If this is the case, then the only completely new shrine built during Phase I is a common Minoan shrine type. Interestingly, this type of shrine is attested primarily iconographically and as discussed in Chapter 2, the only actual *architectural* examples of Tripartite Shrines are fraught with interpretative problems. However, the iconographic examples are numerous and it is clear that Mycenaeans were familiar with this shrine type, since representations of it are found in mainland contexts as early as LH I.[923] Notably, other Minoan-shrine types, such as Pillar Crypts and Lustral Basins are *not* represented in Minoan religious iconography. It is possible that mainland Mycenaeans, familiar with Minoan shrines through iconography, considered the Tripartite Shrine to be the Minoan shrine *par excellence.* Therefore, when the new Knossian regime, consisting at least in part of

[923] Several examples from Shaft Graves III and IV at Mycenae in the form of gold repouseé plaques (Nilsson 1950: 173, fig. 77; also an example from the Tholos tomb at Volo in Thessaly dating to LH II (Nilsson 1950: 174, fig. 79). These representations are likely to be Minoan inspired, if not made by Cretan craftsmen, since the mastery of metal working in gold had already been achieved on Crete at this time. It is most probable these items were given to prominent Mycenaean chiefs as gift exchange.

Greek-speaking mainlanders, were rebuilding the destroyed parts of the palace, a decision was made to build a tripartite structure in front of the Central Sanctuary Complex in an attempt to emphasize continued Minoan religious traditions, despite the changes in the ethnic make-up of the ruling class. But again, if such a structure existed, the "Tripartite Shrine," much like the appearance of religious continuity which the Knossian elites were attempting to convey, was only a façade.

Despite attempts to create the impression of continuing Minoan religious practices, the Linear B evidence clearly shows that some religious changes did occur during this period. Two new divinities of Indo-European origin are attested in the Minoan pantheon at this time, Zeus and Diwia. At the very least, it can be posited that these divinities were brought to Crete by the Greek-speaking elites, incorporated into the Minoan pantheon and honored with appropriate offerings. At the same time, the albeit scanty textual evidence also demonstrates that at least one divinity, *pa-ze,* likely to be of Minoan (or at least non-IE origin), was also recognized in some way at the site of Amnisos. Again, the manner in which these divinities were worshipped is unclear, due to the incomplete nature of the *RCT* tablets. Some insight, however, can be gleaned from the iconographical evidence.

Based on the Corridor of the Procession fresco, it seems very likely that religious processions, which included the carrying of ritual offerings in various types of vessels, occurred within the palace proper. Representing processional scenes has a long history in Minoan religious iconography (and presumably in Minoan religious practice) and continues to be an important iconographical element in the new decorative program of the LM II – early IIIA1 palace. Again, the appearance of continuity of cult practice is indicated, not only by the scene itself, but also in the Minoan-style dress worn by the participants.

Another type of ritual may make its first iconographic appearance at this time: namely, scenes of ritual drinking as seen in the 'Campstool' fresco. It is interesting, and perhaps not incidental, that two tablets from the *RCT* tablets also allude to the act of ritual dining, which could have included ritual drinking. V 280 mentions the use of tables (*to-pe-za*) during the month of *wo-de-wi-jo* and F 51 attests to the term *po-ro-de-qo-no* which must mean "a preliminary meal." Taken together, it may be safe to posit that in Phase I, ritual meals hosted by the Knossian elites as part of a religious festival may have been held for the populace of Knossos, a practice well-attested in the Linear B tablets from Pylos and Thebes.

Based on the textual and archaeological evidence dating to Phase I at the palace of Knossos, it seems that the religious beliefs and practices were a blend of both Minoan and Mycenaean elements. The archaeological evidence is significantly Minoan in appearance; standard Minoan shrines were maintained, though in some cases elaborated upon or perhaps created anew. Yet, the textual evidence shows that new divinities are attested for the first time and were incorporated somewhat seamlessly, while at least one Minoan divinity, who must have been of some importance, was also honored and respected. Outwardly, the appearance of religious continuity may have been intentionally portrayed. It is likely that many Minoan religious rituals were also continued, and particular emphasis may have been placed upon the ritual banquet.[924] Linear B evidence from Pylos and Thebes suggests that the ritual banquet was an important element in Mycenaean religious ceremonies on the mainland; the fact that iconographic evidence for such rituals first occurs at Knossos during the Mycenaean phases of administration may

[924] That is not to say that the Mycenaean "introduced" the idea of the ritual banquet. As Borgna (1997 and 2004) has demonstrated, Cretans were practicing ritual drinking and feasting prior to the arrival of the "Mycenaeans". However, what is new at this time is the iconographic representation of ritual drinking and possibly textual evidence attesting to the practice for the first time.

reflect the influence and tastes of the new Greek-speaking administrators. Such feasts were beneficial both to the people, who received a free meal, and the elites, who demonstrated their goodwill to people, thereby assuring the rightful positions as rulers in a divinely-sanctified environment.

II. RELIGION AT KNOSSOS DURING PHASE II

What can be said about religion at the palace at Knossos during Phase II? Unlike Phase I, the amount of evidence available, both archaeological and textual, is quite abundant. However, the two sets of evidence provide significantly different types of information about the religious beliefs and practices at this time. But by bringing together these two data sets, we can offer a more complete picture of the nature of Knossian religion in Phase II.

Beginning with divinities, the Linear B evidence attests to a large pantheon of gods, both male and female, Indo-European and Minoan. Not only is a clear blending of Greek and local divinities evident, but individual Minoan gods are frequently included in the pantheon and worshipped appropriately. In fact, the textual evidence suggests that Mycenaean administrators were particularly interested in honoring *primarily* Minoan divinities and, with the use of *pa-si-te-o-i,* assuring that none of the local gods were overlooked. When identifiably Greek theonyms are attested at Knossos, more often than not they are either qualified by local epithets[925] or are divinities that are otherwise unattested in Linear B tablets found outside of Crete.[926] When comparing this analysis to

[925] Cf. *di-ka-ta-jo di-we* and *po-ti-ni-ja da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo*

[926] Cf. *e-re-u-ti-ja, e-ne-si-da-o-ne, e-ri-nu, a-ne-mo (i-je-re-ja)* and *a-re* (though the divine name Ares is attested in theophorics outside of Crete.

the archaeological evidence, quite a different picture emerges. Very little evidence exists for the identification of individual gods. The clearest example of the iconography of divinity, and perhaps the only identifiable god in the artifactual remains from Phase II at Knossos, is the MGUA figure from the Shrine of the Double Axes. If the Linear B evidence were not available to us, one might presume (as many have for Minoan cult) that religion at Knossos was monotheistic and centered around a Great Goddess figure. We know, of course, that this was not the case. What cannot be determined is who, of the many gods attested in the texts, this goddess figure may represent.[927] Nor is it possible to identify *where* the many divinities named in the tablets were specifically worshipped, even though we are able to locate different areas of cult in the archaeological remains. Though the archaeological and textual evidence for divinities contrast so significantly, at the very least the tablets demonstrates that the iconographic evidence for divinities alone can provide a misleading view of the nature of the Knossian pantheon.

Turning to the evidence for ritual offerings, both sets of evidence serve to complement each other. Again, the textual evidence is more informative, providing specific types of food offerings,[928] as well as wool, cloth and goat skins. Unfortunately, such ephemeral materials do not survive in the archaeological record, and therefore the material evidence for such offerings is more questionable. However, various types of vessels that may have contained such items are identifiable in some of the cult locales in the palace. For instance, the flat alabastra may have once held oil to be given to the gods as an offering, an act which we know from the Linear B evidence occurred frequently in the palace. Moreover, numerous vessels were found in the Shrine of the Double Axes

[927] Of course, it is also possible that she was not meant to represent any one specific goddess, but instead stood for the general notion of divinity. Again, this idea is merely speculation, but more than anything, serves as a reminder for how much we do still not understand about the nature of Bronze Age religions.
[928] Such as oil, grain, figs, flour, wine, honey, fennel, coriander, and cyperus.

which may have contained a variety of food offerings. Though we cannot know precisely what these offerings were, the Linear B evidence attests to this practice and provides us with a range of possibilities. The one place where the textual evidence is lacking is in the ritual offering of precious items. Such evidence exists in the Pylian tablet evidence,[929] so it is interesting that no mention of such offerings occur anywhere in the Knossos tablets. That is not to say that offerings of gold vessels, jewelry and other valuable articles did not occur at all at Knossos. Rather, it could simply be the accident of survival that no Linear B documents recording such offerings were recovered. In this case, the archaeological evidence may attest to this practice: a silver bracelet, along with remnants of gold leaf, was found on the ledge of the "Inner Shrine" in the Throne Room Complex. Whether these items can be interpreted as religious offerings is admittedly tentative, but if so, objects made of precious materials could be added to the types of the ritual offerings made at Knossos.

The one area where the archaeological evidence is more informative than the Linear B tablets is in regards to cult locales within the palace proper. The textual evidence records the name of at least one specific sanctuary;[930] moreover, we can identify a few cult places located outside of the palace.[931] However, no mention of specific cult locales within the palace is provided in the Linear B documents. In addition, the tablets do not offer any information as to the nature and/or structure of such cult locales. The archaeological remains, on the other hand, provide evidence for the use of at least two specific locales within palace complex: the Throne Room Complex and the Shrine of the Double Axes. Both of these shrines contain benches. As noted above (Chapter 6,

[929] PY Tn 316 where gold vessels are brought to numerous gods and sanctuaries in the Pylian kingdom.
[930] Cf. *da-da-re-jo*
[931] Such as *di-ka-ta* and *a-mi-ni-so.*

Section I), the bench sanctuary, though common in both Minoan and Mycenaean religious architecture, was the *only* shrine type adapted by the Mycenaeans from the Minoan repertoire of cult locales. The fact that both cult locales in the palace at Knossos during Phase II contain benches may reflect a Mycenaean affinity for bench sanctuaries. Yet, both cult locales also contain a mixture of Minoan and mainland-influenced cult symbols and paraphernalia, including the continuation of one of the most identifiably Minoan shrine types (the Lustral Basin). In this sense, the picture provided by the archaeological evidence coincides with that of the textual in that conscious attempts have been made by the Greek-speaking Knossian elites to incorporate Minoan elements into palatial cult, while at the same time adhere to their own tastes and preferences. For this reason, I believe that the evidence for religion at the palace at Knossos during Phase II exhibits the blending of both Minoan and Mycenaean elements in a cohesive and identifiable way.

On a final note, it is important to point out that the Throne Room Complex and the Shrine of the Double Axes may not have been in use simultaneously. As noted above, the Throne Room Complex was in continuous use during both Phase I and Phase II, but it is uncertain whether it ceased to be used after the destruction in the beginning of LM IIIA2 or continued until LM IIIB1. For the Shrine of the Double Axes, we have the opposite scenario. We know that it must have been in use during LM IIIB, based on the decorated stirrup jar, but we do not know if it was constructed and in use during LM IIIA1-2. However, the fact that the MGUA figure from this shrine was manufactured in LM IIIA2 at the very least suggests that it was in fact being used at this time. When considering the textual evidence alongside the archaeological, the picture becomes even murkier.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the date of the majority of the Knossos tablets is still highly debated. Some scholars prefer a date early in LM IIIA2, while others believe that the tablets date to the end of LM IIIB1. As argued most recently by Driessen, it seems most likely that the palace may have suffered at least three different fire destructions: one at the beginning of LM IIIA1 which fired the *RCT* tablets; one at the beginning of LM IIIA2, which *may* have caused the firing of the tablets from the *NEP* (Firth's Group B tablets); and a final destruction at the end of LM IIIB1.[932] The remaining Knossos tablets could have been fired in either of the last two destructions. However, as noted above considerable differences in the religious information provided in the various tablet deposits at Knossos are not readily apparent. Many of the same divinities are honored with the same types of offerings at many of the same cult places. Therefore, our ideas about religion at Knossos based solely on the Linear B tablets would not change significantly if the tablets belong to either the LM IIIA2 or IIIB destruction.

On the other hand, the period of use for the Throne Room Complex and the Shrine of the Double Axes does affect our understanding of religion at Knossos at this time. It is possible that the Throne Room Complex went out of use in the beginning of LM IIIA2 and the Shrine of the Double Axe was constructed *after* this date. In this scenario, the very small Shrine of the Double Axes would have been the *only* functioning cult locale in the palace at this time. If this were the case, then the religious activities in the palace would have been significantly lessened and localized. Such a view of the cult practices after the LM IIIA2 destruction would be consistent with those in favor of an LM IIIA2 date for the Knossos tablets, who believe that the palace functioned in a diminished capacity between the beginning of LM IIIA2 and LM IIIB1.

[932] Driessen 1997 and 2008.

However, if the Throne Room Complex and the Shrine of the Double Axes were used contemporaneously, different scenarios could be posited. Each of the shrines could have served different segments of the elite population of the palace. For instance, the more formal Throne Room Complex could have been reserved for the Mycenaean elites, and the Shrine of the Double Axes, for the Minoans still attached to Knossian ruling class and participating in palatial administration. However, the layout of these cult locales and the finds present in them do not suggest such a dichotomy. Instead, a blend of old and new religious traditions is apparent in the paraphernalia that implies a certain amount of religious syncretism was occurring between the beliefs and practices of the Minoans with those of the Mycenaeans. It is perhaps more likely that, if the use of the Throne Room and the Shrine of the Double Axes is contemporary, the cult locales may have been used for different purposes. Perhaps, the Throne Room Complex was the setting for more formal religious rites and ceremonies, whereas the Shrine of the Double Axe functioned as a more informal, day-to-day sanctuary. In this scenario, participation in the palatial cult was open to the entire elite population of the Knossos and by necessity appealed to tastes and traditions of both groups of elites.

III. CONCLUSIONS

In this dissertation, I have assessed the nature of religion at the site of Knossos during the Mycenaean phases of administration by examining both the archaeological remains and the Linear B documents. By incorporating both sets of evidence and giving equal weight to both sources of information, it has been possible to reconstruct an accurate picture of the religious beliefs and practices of the post-LM II Knossian elites

during at least two distinct phases of Mycenaean administration. From the evidence available, we can see that a direct correlation exists between the changes made to the post-LM II cult locales in the palace proper and the incorporation of new Greek-speaking elite population functioning in an administrative capacity. Though the evidence suggests a clear blending of Minoan and Mycenaean religious elements, emphasis seems to be placed upon maintaining Minoan religious traditions, both by including Minoan divinities in ritual offerings and continuing the use of the Minoans-style shrines for religious ceremonies. Aspects of Mycenaean religion are also evident in the religious beliefs and practices at Knossos, but to a lesser extent and seem to have been gradually incorporated over time into the already established Minoan traditions.

In many ways, this evaluation has been restricted by the limitations of the evidence, both textual and archaeological, which *on their own* offer incomplete accounts of the nature of religion at Knossos. The textual evidence from Phase I attests to the incorporation of at least two Indo-European divinities into the pantheon (Zeus and Diwia) and possibly the practice of ritual dining ceremonies, both of which could be understood as "Mycenaean" in nature. The fact that only a single Minoan divinity (*pa-ze*) is attested in the *RCT* tablets suggests that the emphasis was on including and/or introducing mainland elements into the religion of Knossos. The archaeological evidence from Phase I, however, gives the opposite impression; that is, the continued use of many Minoan-style shrines throughout the palace suggests that the religious activity was primarily "Minoan" in nature.

During Phase II, the impression given by the different evidence sets is reversed. The textual evidence suggests a strong emphasis on honoring primarily Minoan divinities, localized Indo-European gods (such as Diktaian Zeus and Potnia of Labyrinthos) or divinities otherwise unattested on Linear B tablets outside of Crete (Ares

and Eleuthia); in this sense, the pantheon of divinities seems more "Minoan" in nature, or at least more localized. The archaeological evidence from Phase II, however, shows the diminished use of *purely* Minoan-style shrines, with the exception of the Throne Room Lustral Basin, the construction of a new bench sanctuary (which could be a reflection of mainland tastes) and the incorporation of "Mycenaean" cult paraphernalia. Here, a greater degree Mycenaean influence on the religious practices at Knossos is evident in the material remains than in Phase II.

Based on my assessment of religion at Knossos during two distinct phases of Mycenaean administration, the evidence suggests a certain degree of evolution in the religious beliefs and practices at Knossos between Phases I and II. Overall, it seems that religion at Knossos during Phase II shows a greater degree of religious syncretism than religion during Phase I. In Phase I, the Indo-European divinities are *not* qualified by local epithets and cult locales maintain their purely Minoan form. During Phase II, more Minoan divinities are included in ritual offerings, some Indo-European divinities have local epithets and shrines incorporate more "Mycenaean" features. Such an understanding of religion at Knossos would not have been possible without examining both the archaeological and textual evidence within their specific temporal contexts.

Figures

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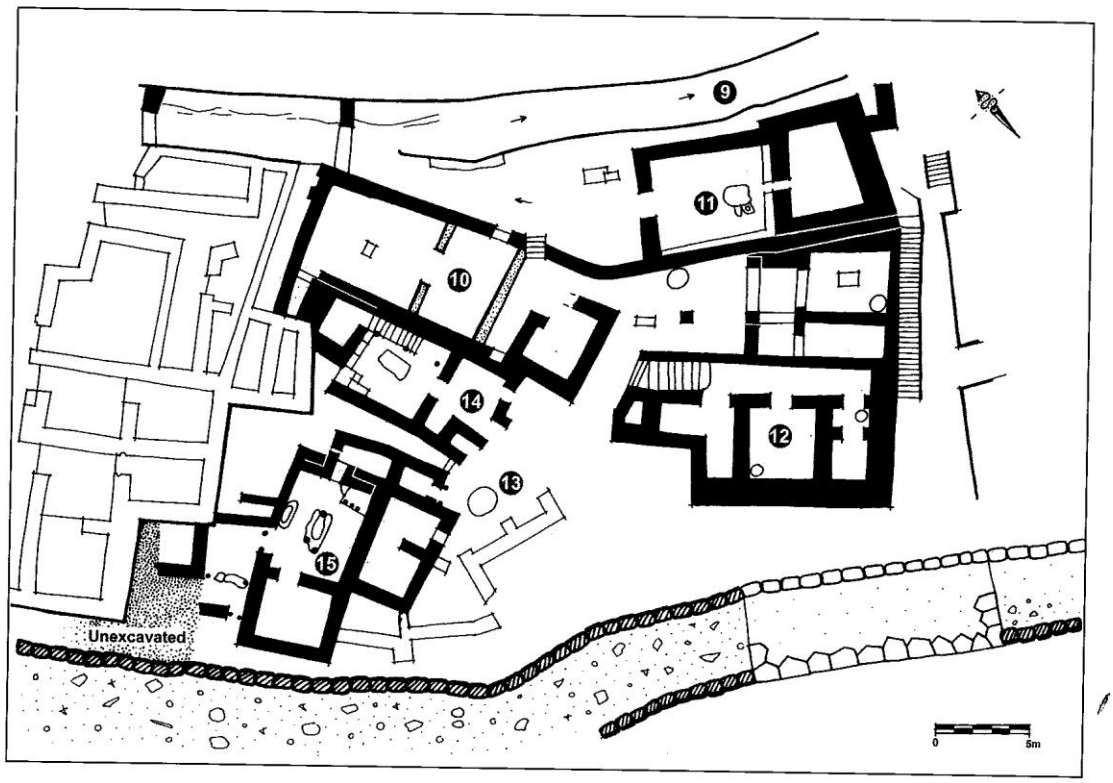
Figure 1.1: Renfrew and Bahn's Model for Religious Beliefs
Figure 1.2: Model for Identifying Beliefs in the Archaeological Record

Figure 2.1: The Cult Center at Mycenae from French 2002: fig. 33



33 Cult Centre. © Mycenae Archive.
9. Processional Way; 10. Megaron; 11. Shrine Gamma; 12. Tsountas' House; 13. Central Court; 14. Temple; 15. Room with the Fresco Complex

Figure 2.2 : The Sanctuary at Methana from Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: fig.1

Figure 2.3: The Shrines at Tiryns from Whittaker 1997: figs. 6-9.

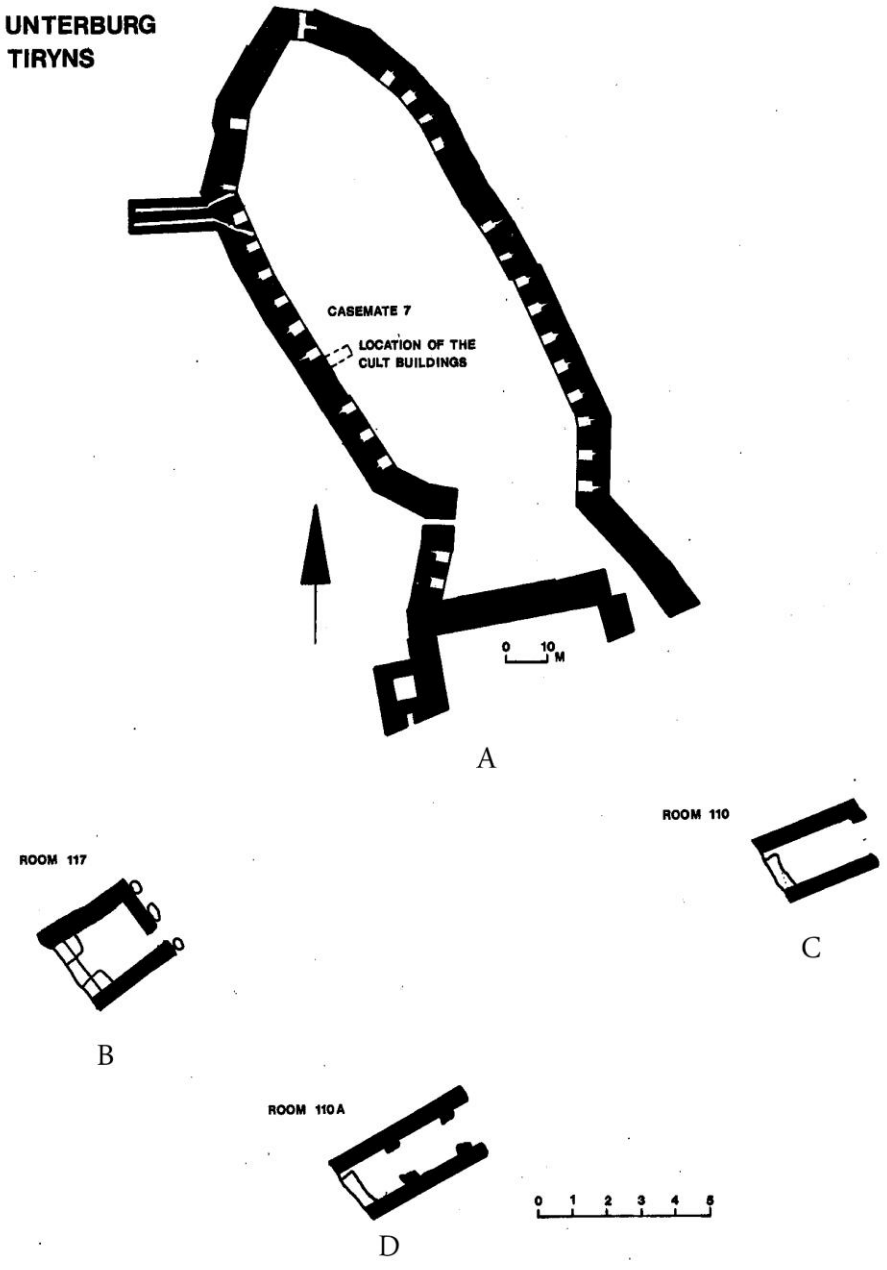


Figure 4.1: Map of Palace at Knossos with Tablet Findspots from Olivier 1967: 21

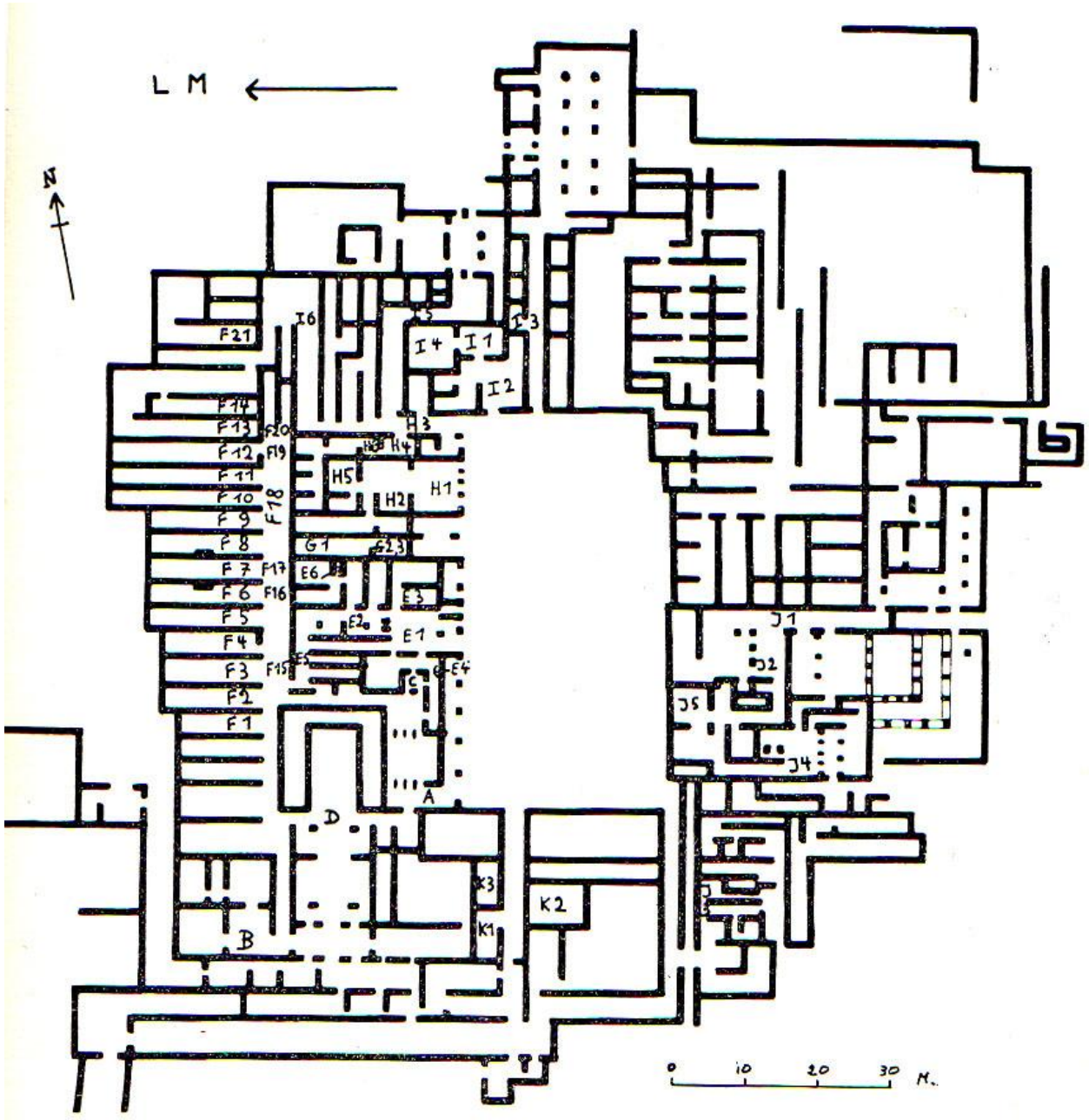


Figure 4.2: Central Sanctuary Complex from Gesell 1985: fig. 19

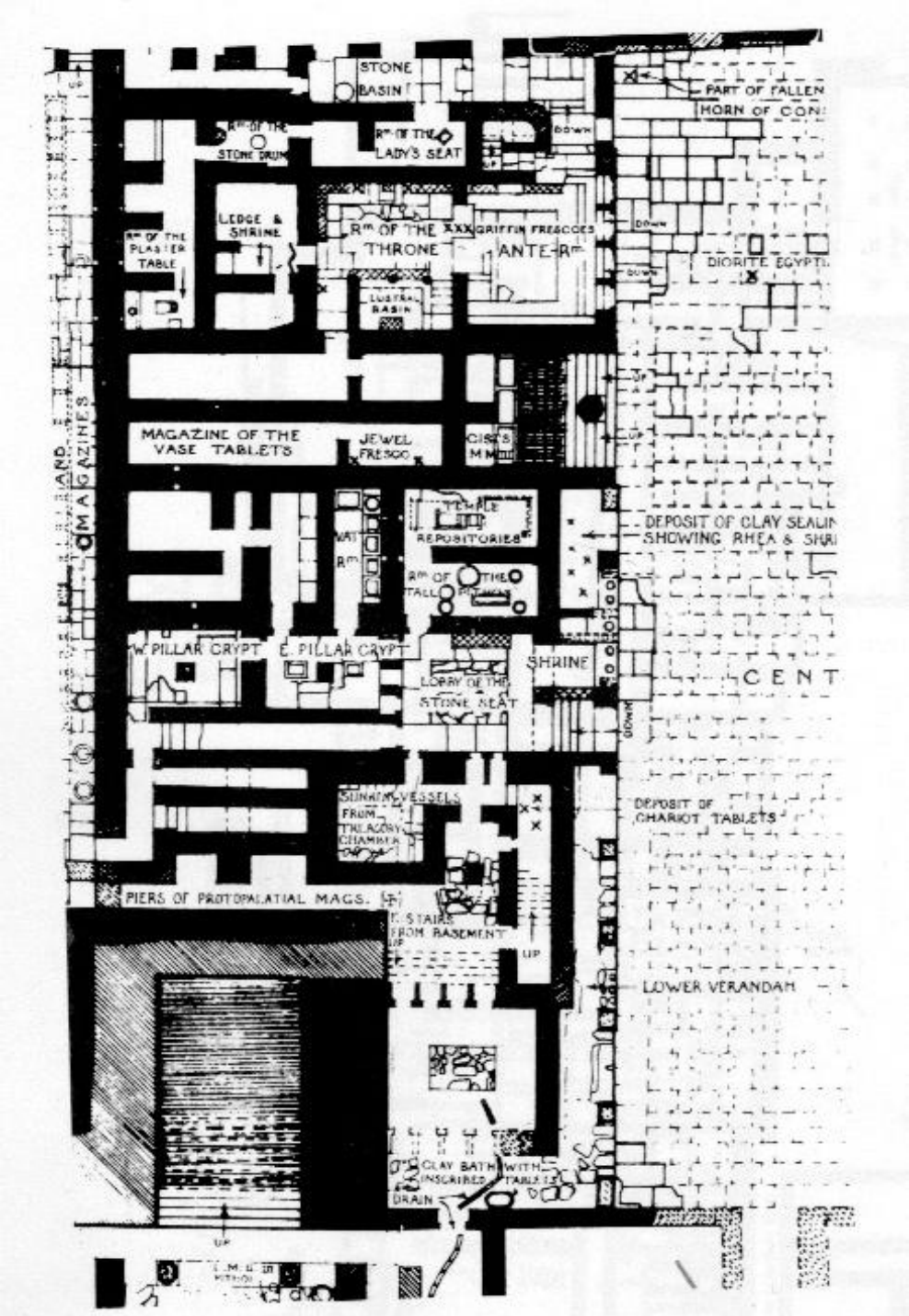


Figure 4.3: First Architectural Phase of *RCT* and Neighboring Rooms from Driessen 1990: fig. 9

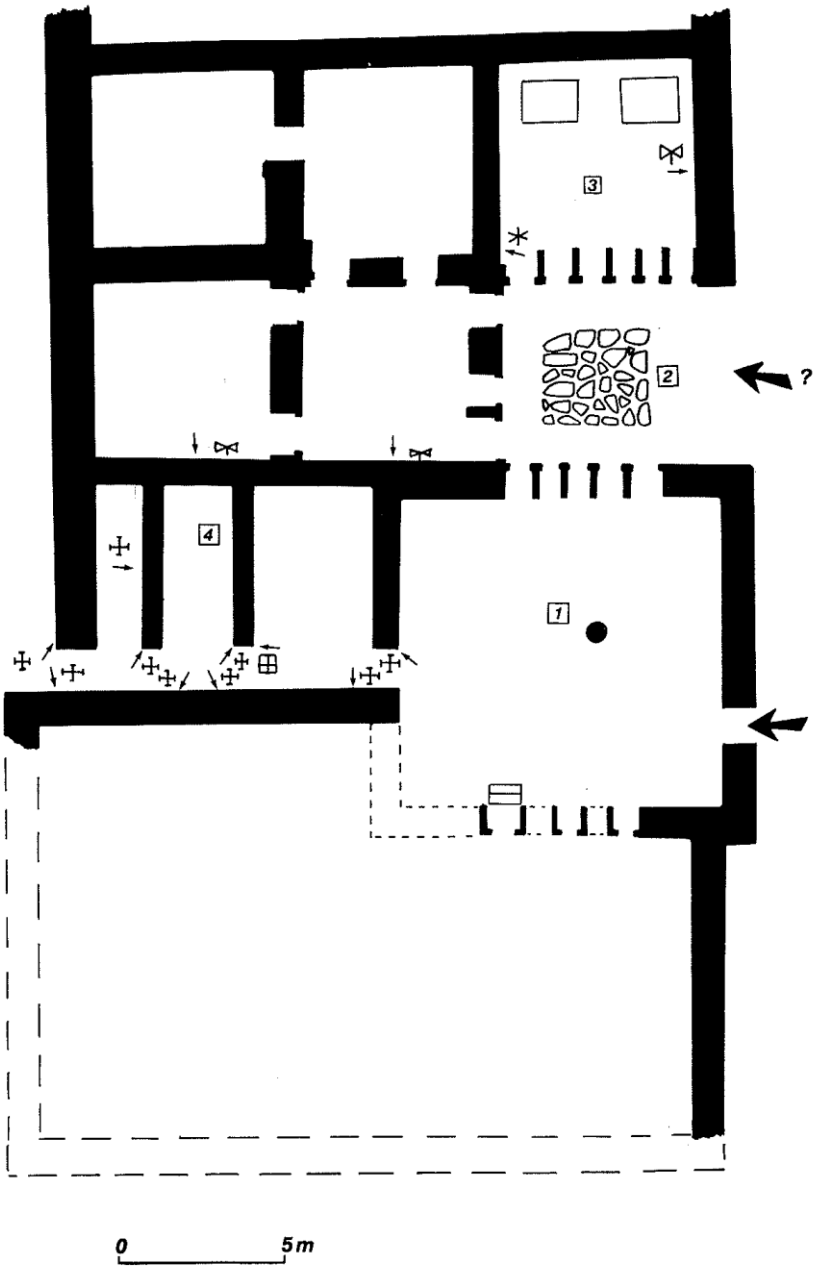


Figure 4.4: Second Architectural Phase of *RCT* and Neighboring Rooms from Driessen 1990: fig. 10

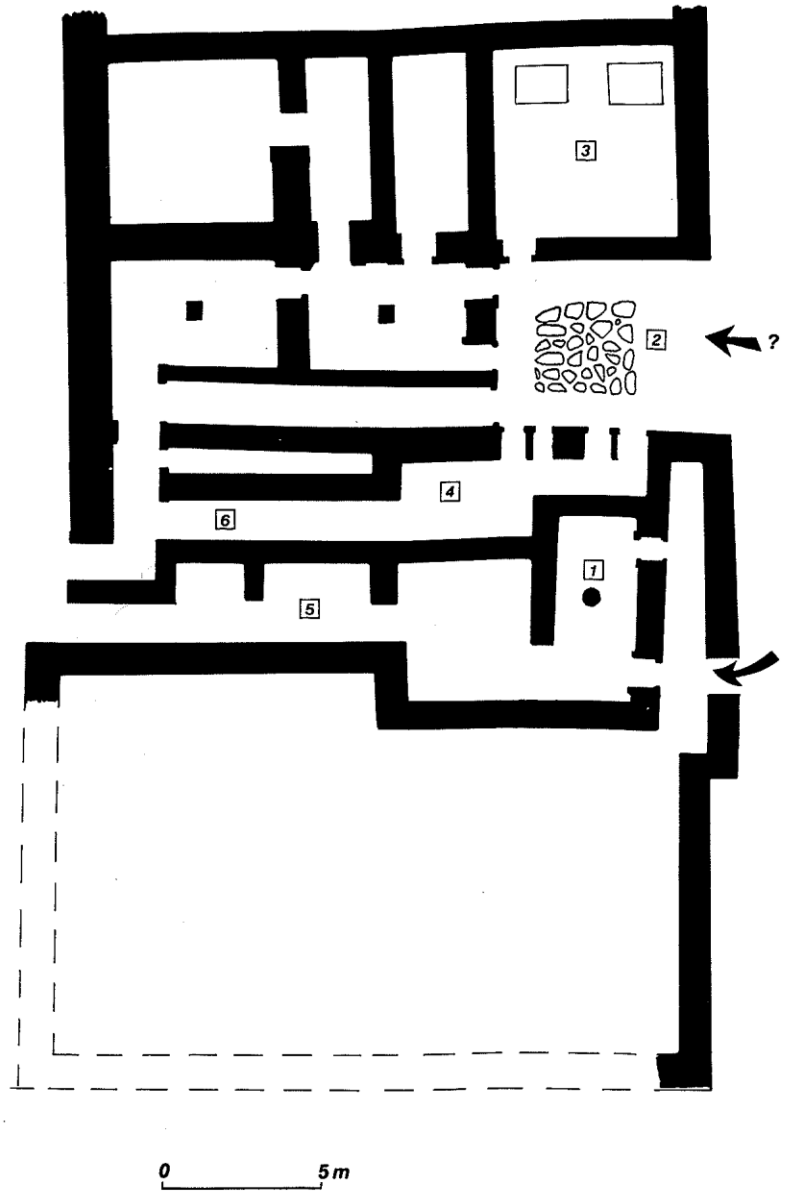


Figure 4.5: Third Architectural Phase of *RCT* and Neighboring Rooms from Driessen 1990: fig. 11

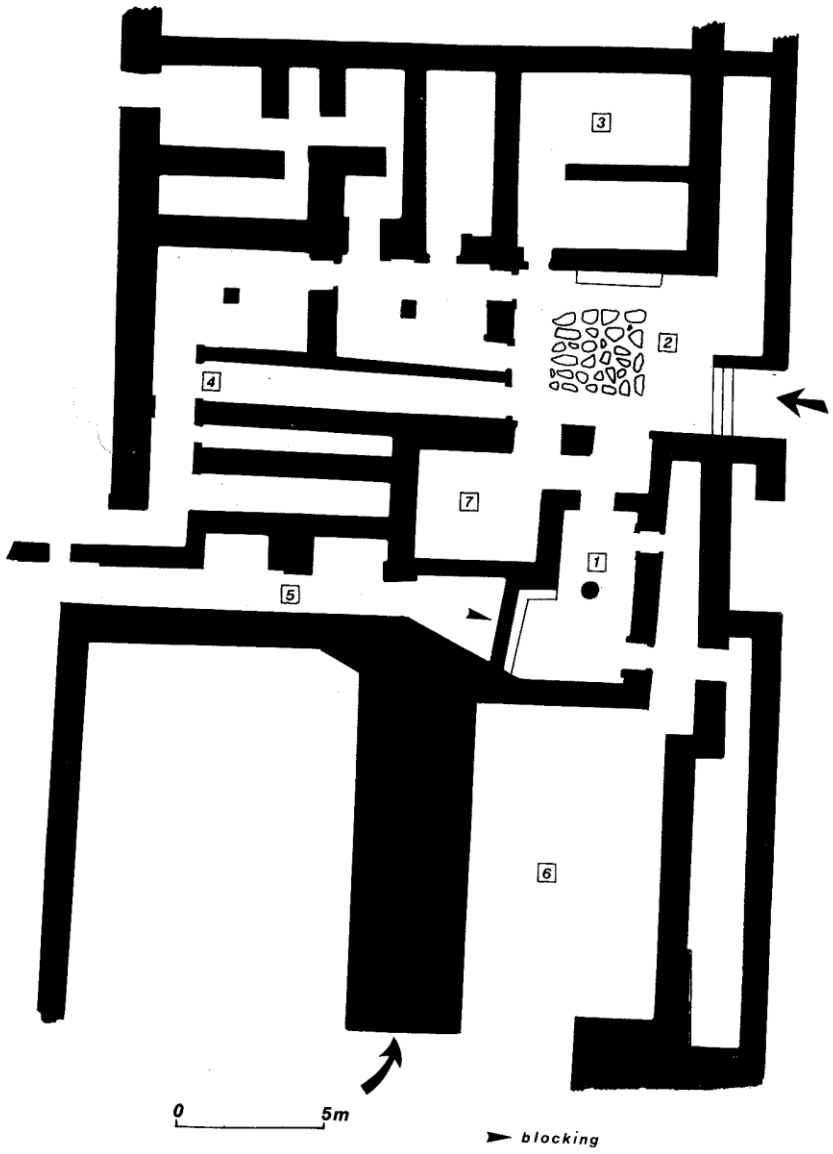


Figure 4.6: Fourth Architectural Phase of *RCT* and Neighboring Rooms from Driessen 1990: fig. 12

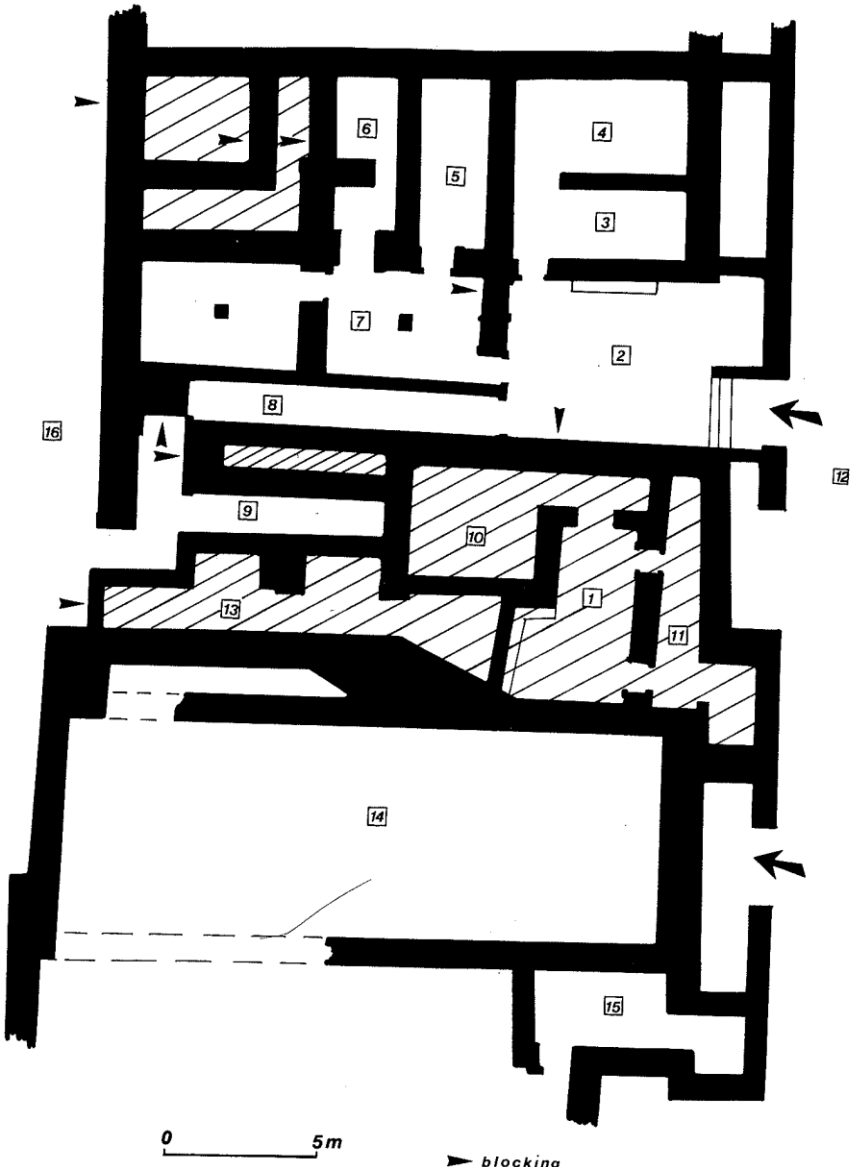


Figure 4.7: The Tripartite Shrine at Knossos from Evans 1921-1935: II, fig. 526

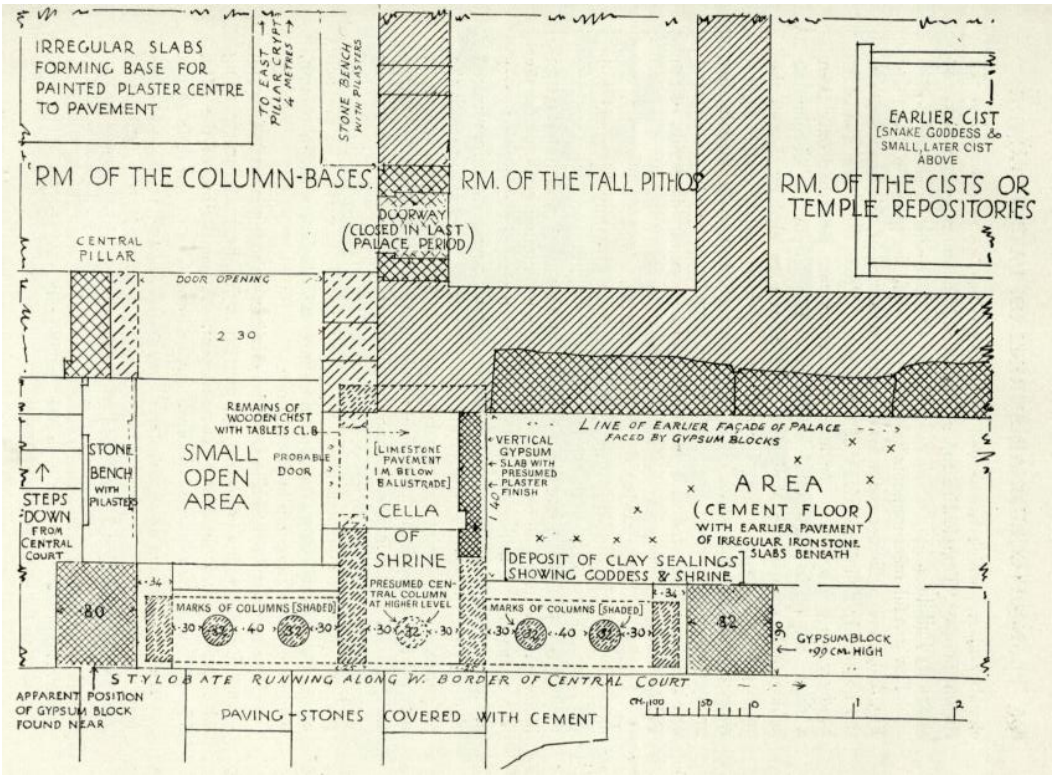


Figure 4.8: Throne Room Complex at Knossos from Evans 1921-1935: IV, fig. 877

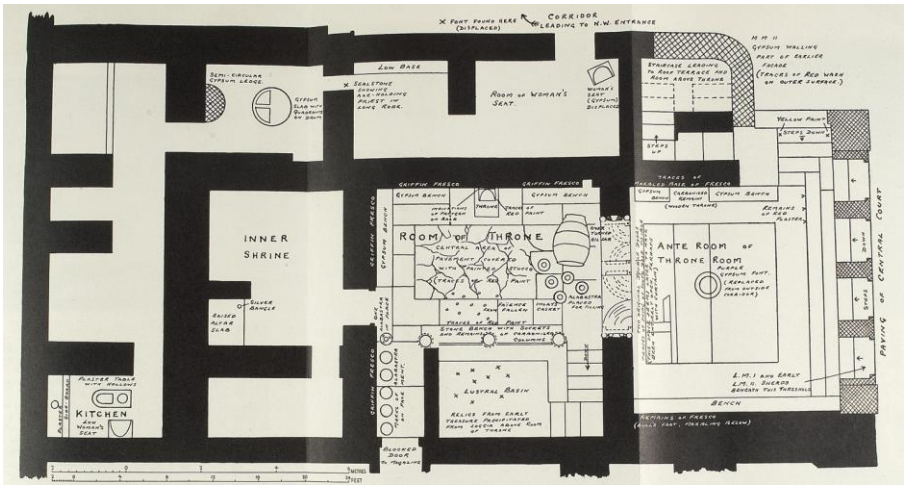


Figure 4.9: Throne Room with Magazines from Neimeier 1987: fig 1

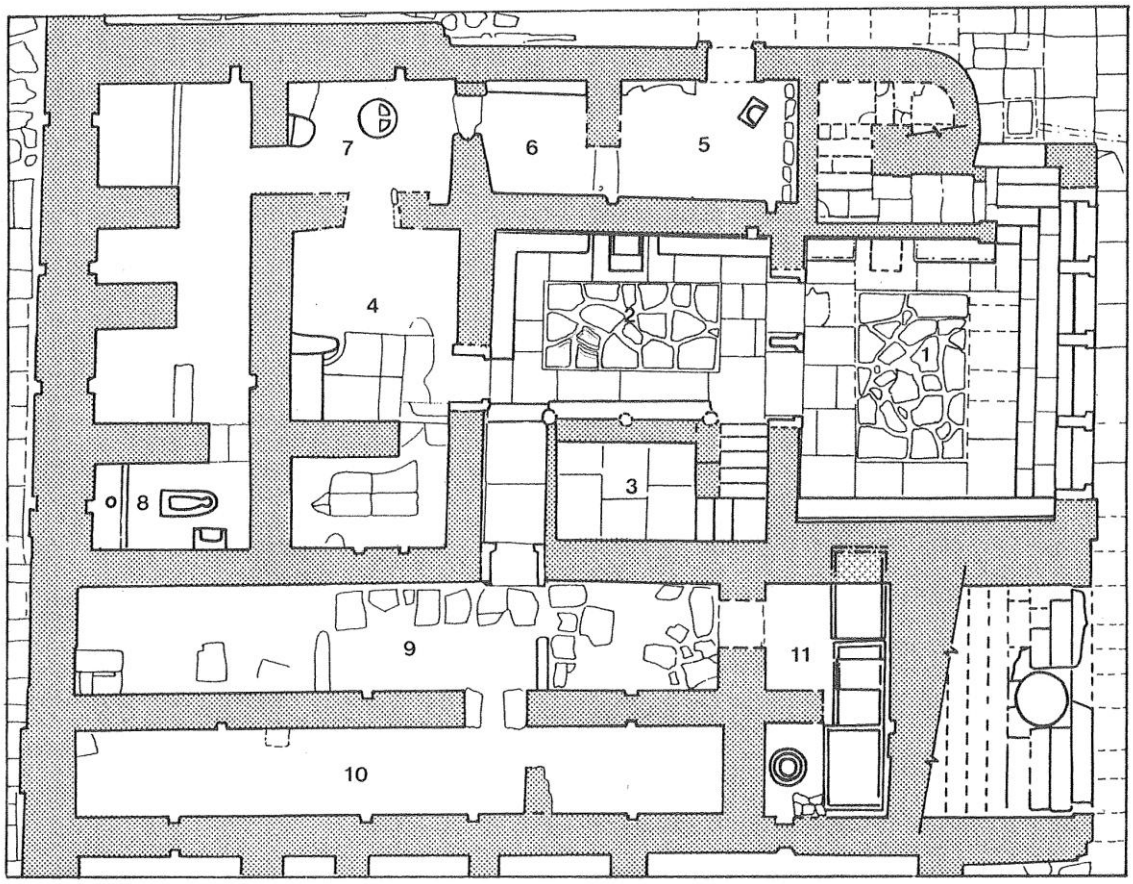


Figure 4.10: Throne Room Fresco from Evans 1921-1935: IV, fig. 895

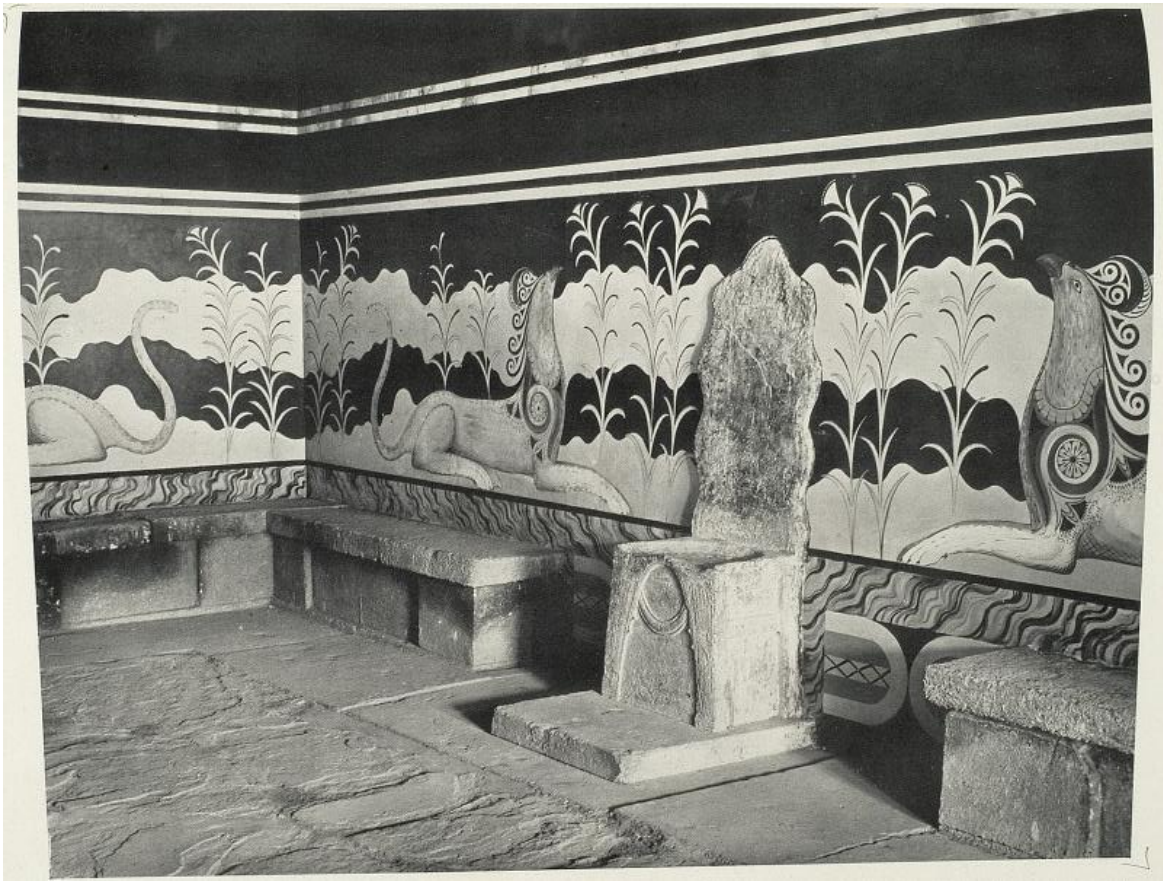


Figure 4.11: Palace of Knossos with Fresco Findspots from Immerwahr 1990: fig. 25, with some modifications

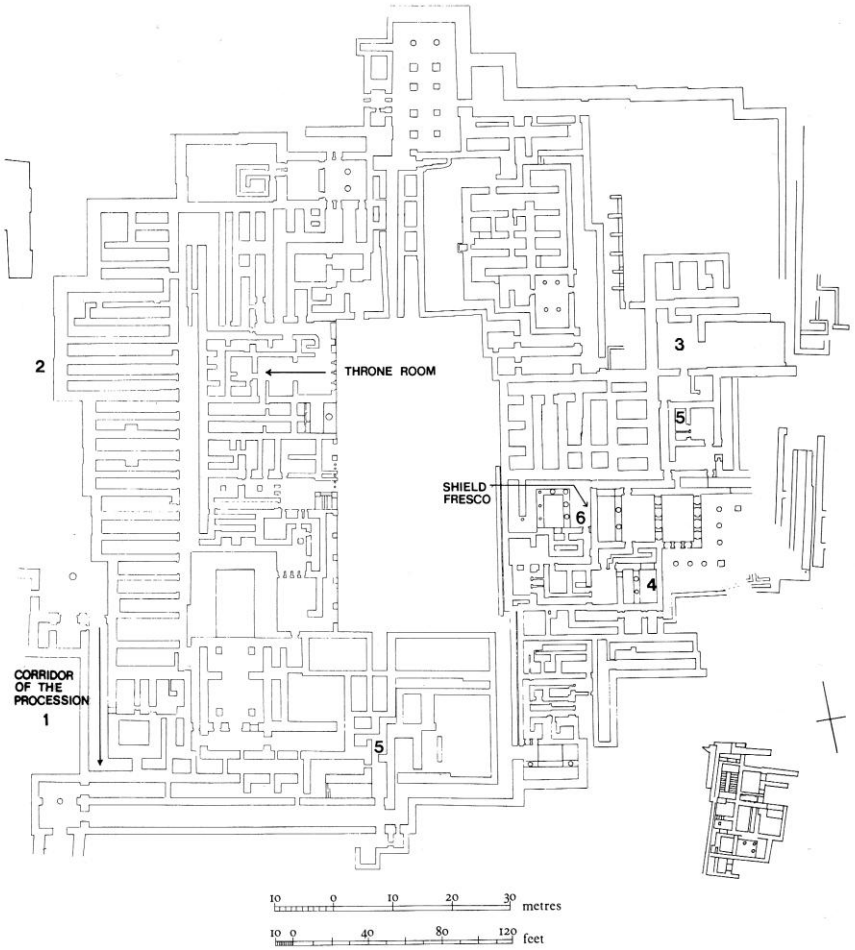
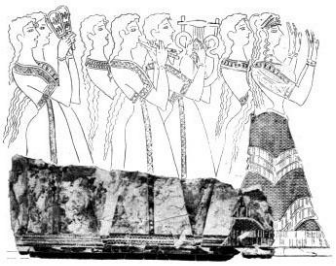


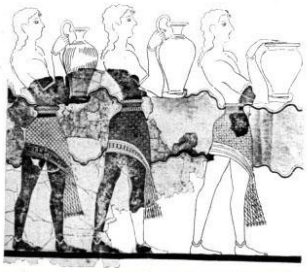
Figure 4.12: Corridor of the Procession Fresco from Evans 1921-1935: II, figs. 450 and 452

Group A



Group B

Group C



The ‘ Cupbearer’

Figure 4.13: ‘Campstool’ Fresco from Evans 1921-1935: IV, pl. XXXI

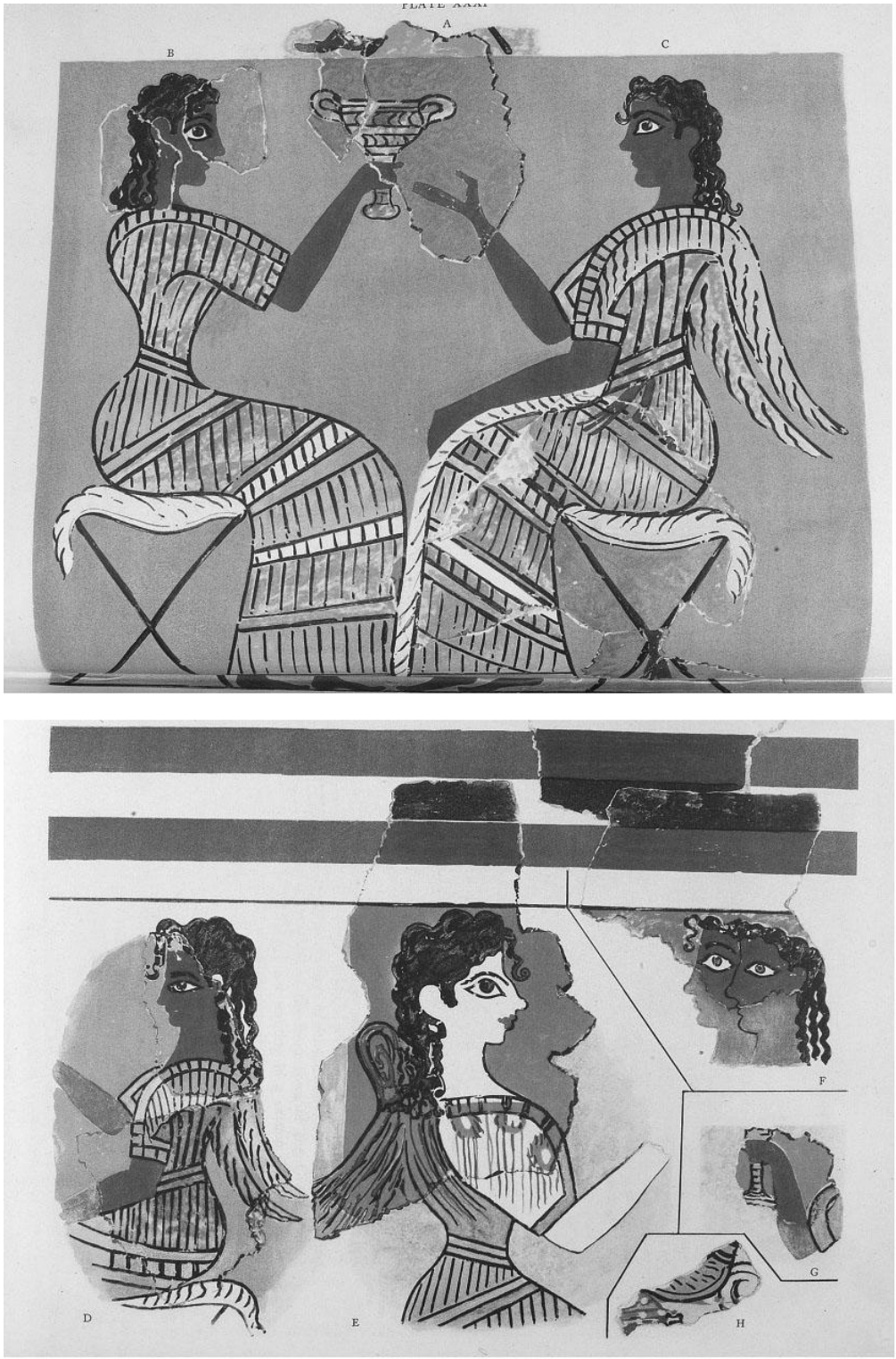
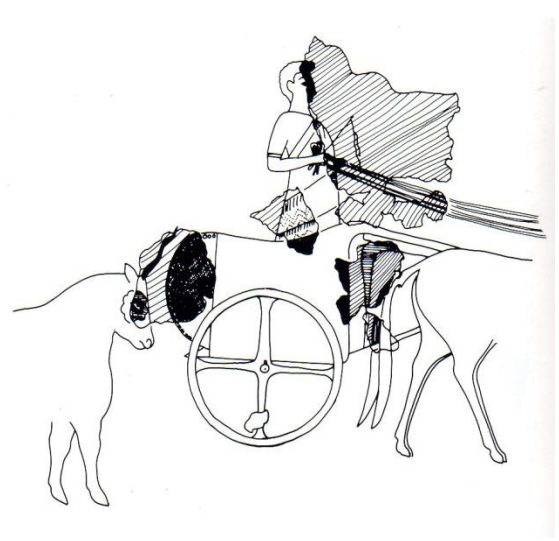
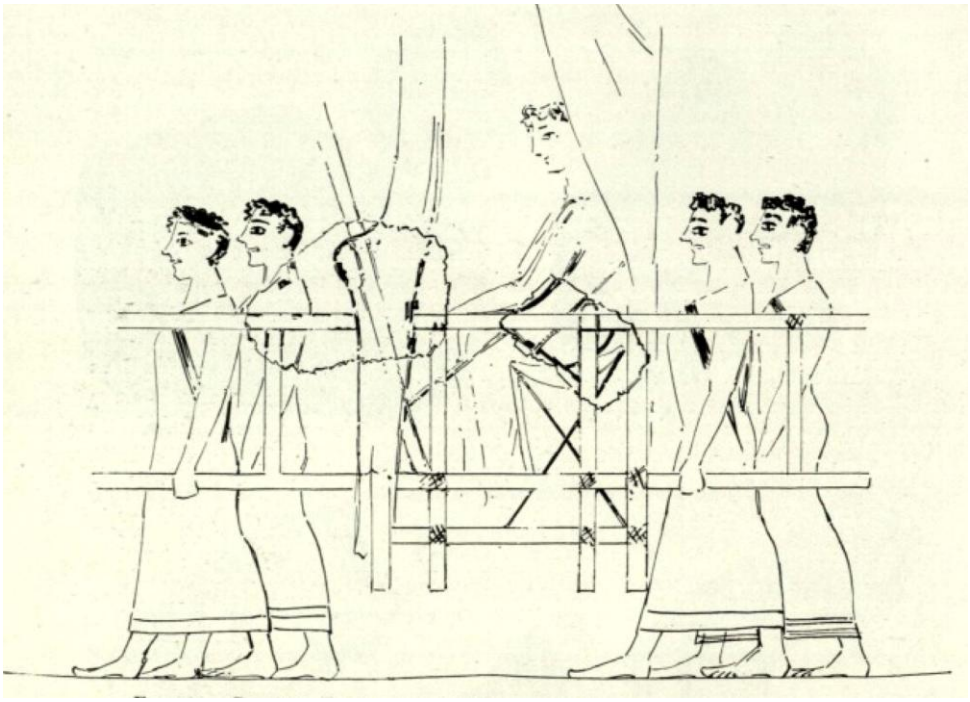


Figure 4.14: ‘Palanquin’-Chariot Fresco from Cameron 1967: fig. 12



A.

B.



C.

Figure 4.15: Shield Fresco from Evans 1921-1935: III, pl. XXIII

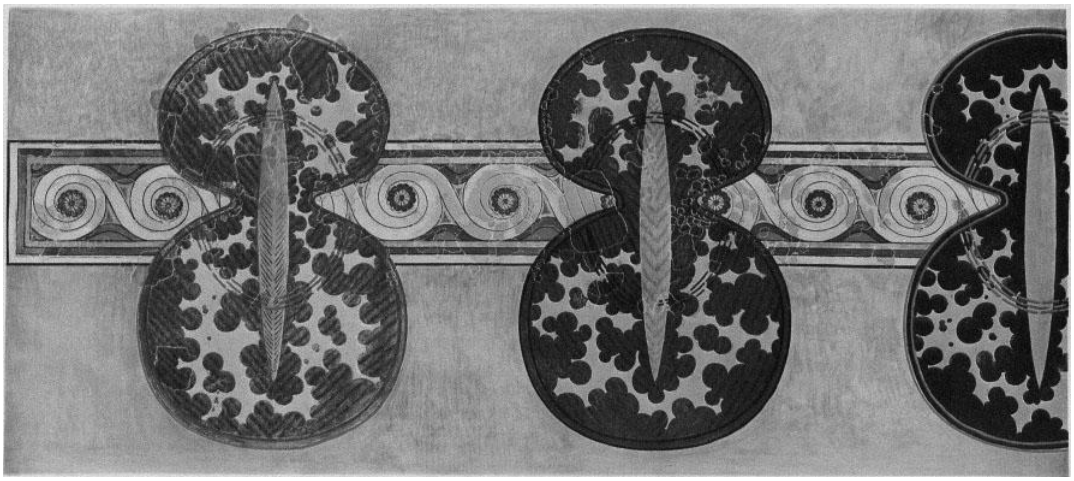
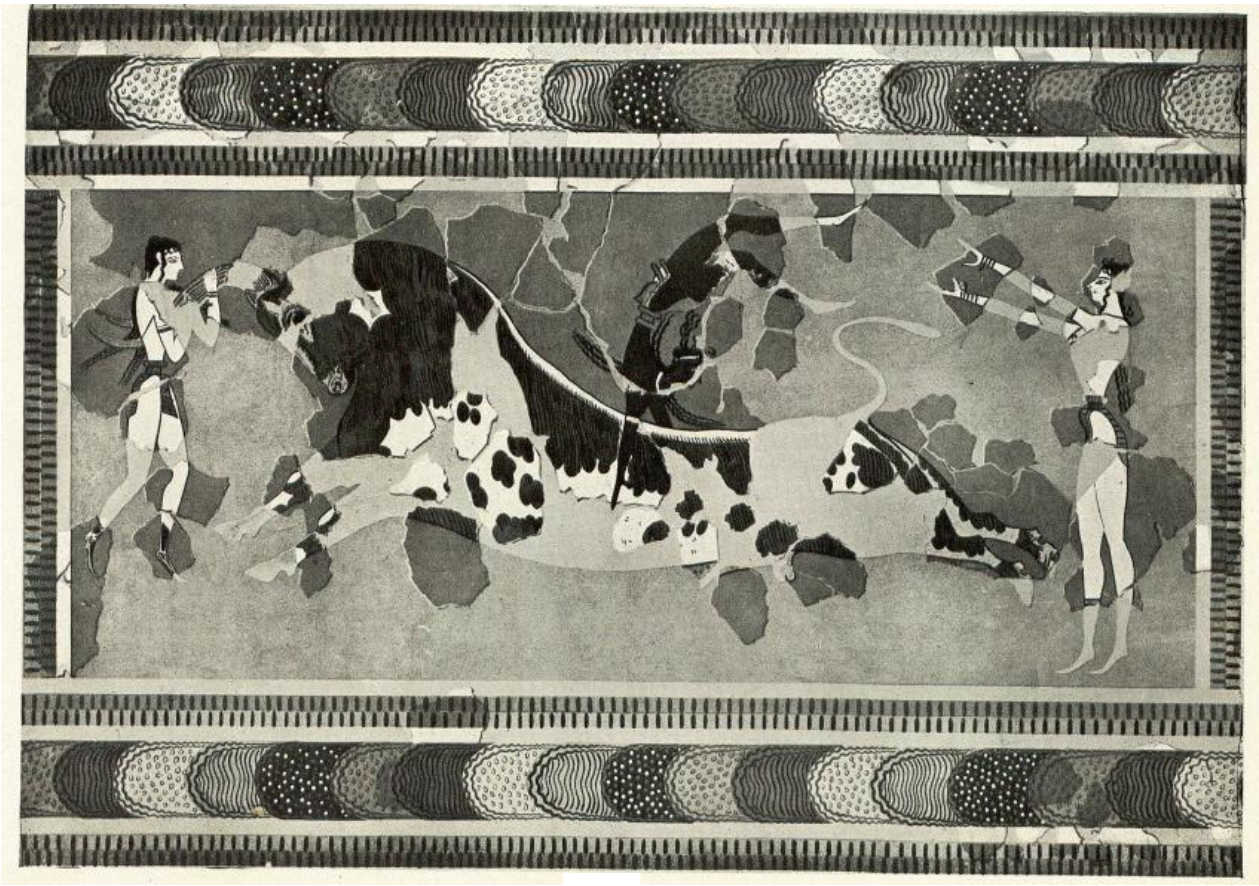


Figure 4.16: ‘Taureador’ Frescoes from Evans 1921-1935: III, fig. 144, pl. XXI, fig. 146



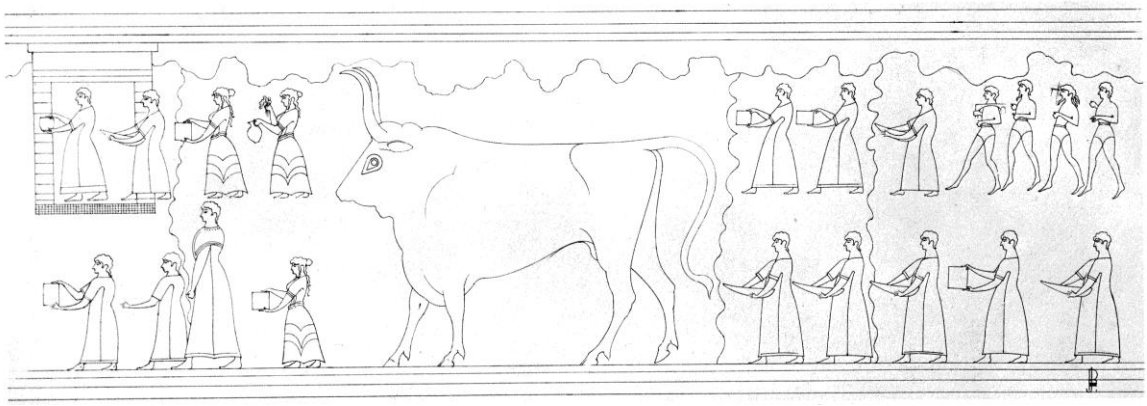
A.

B.

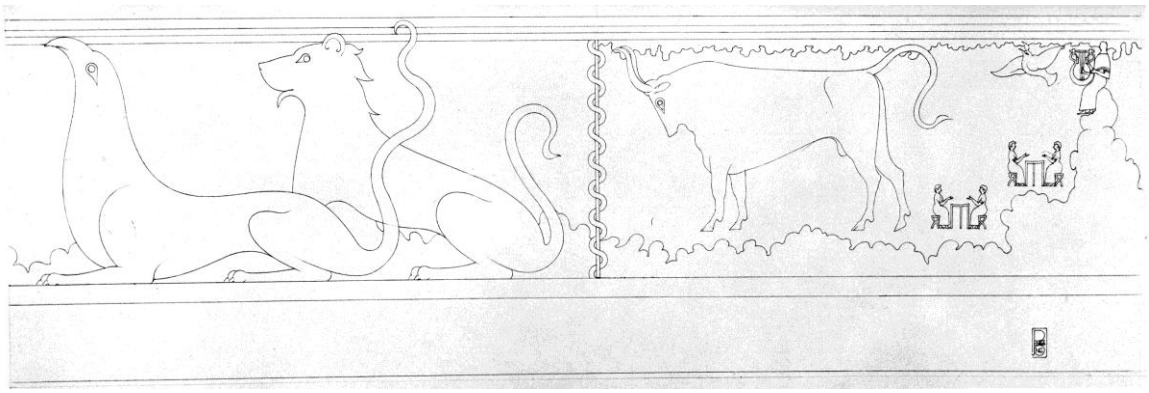
C.

Figure 4.17: Dancing Girl fresco from Evans 1921-1935: III, fig. 40

Figure 4.18: Fresco from Vestibule and Throne Room (Rooms 5 and 6) at Pylos from Lang 1969: pls. 119 and 125

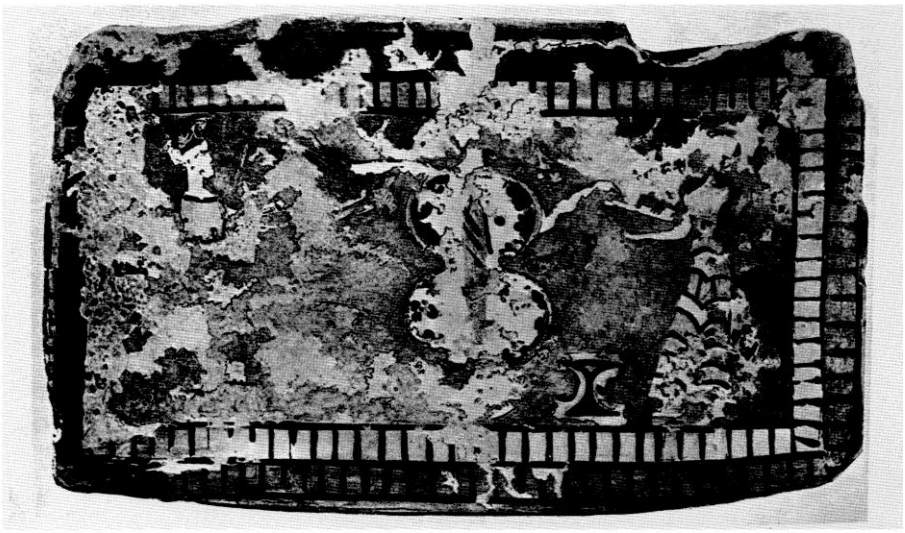


A. Sketch of wall painting from Vestibule (Room 5)



B. Sketch of wall painting from Throne Room (Room 6)

Figure 4.19: ‘Warrior Goddess’ Plaque from Mycenae from Immerwahr 1990: pls. 62 and 73



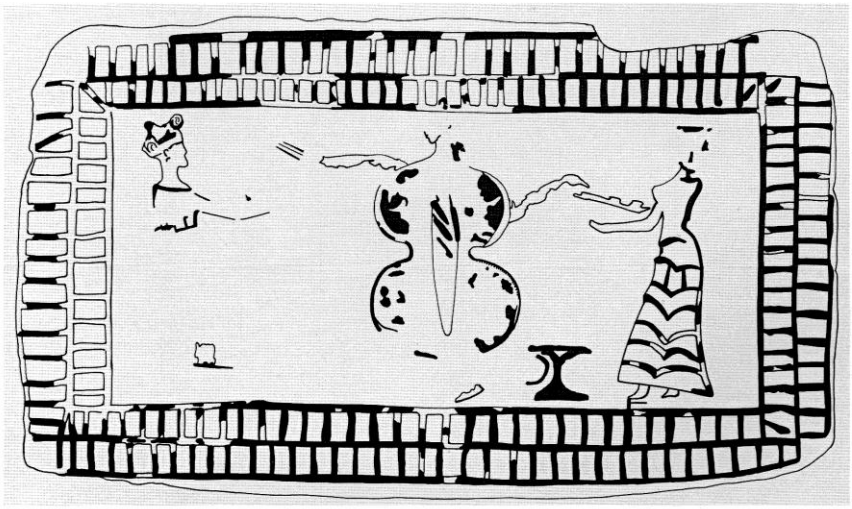


Figure 5.1: Southeast sector of the palace with Shrine of the Double Axes from Evans 1921-1935: II, fig. 186

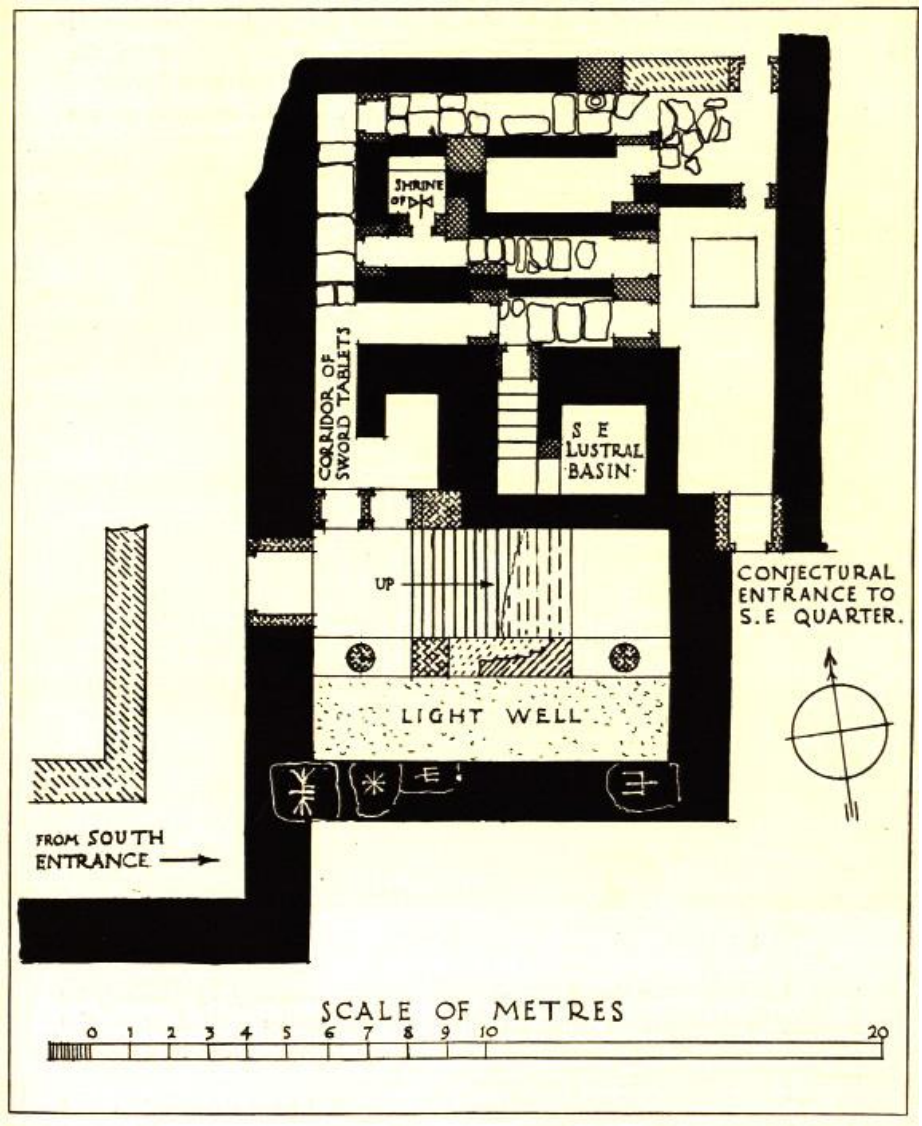


Figure 5.2: Plan of Shrine of Double Axes from Evans 1921-1935: II, fig.190

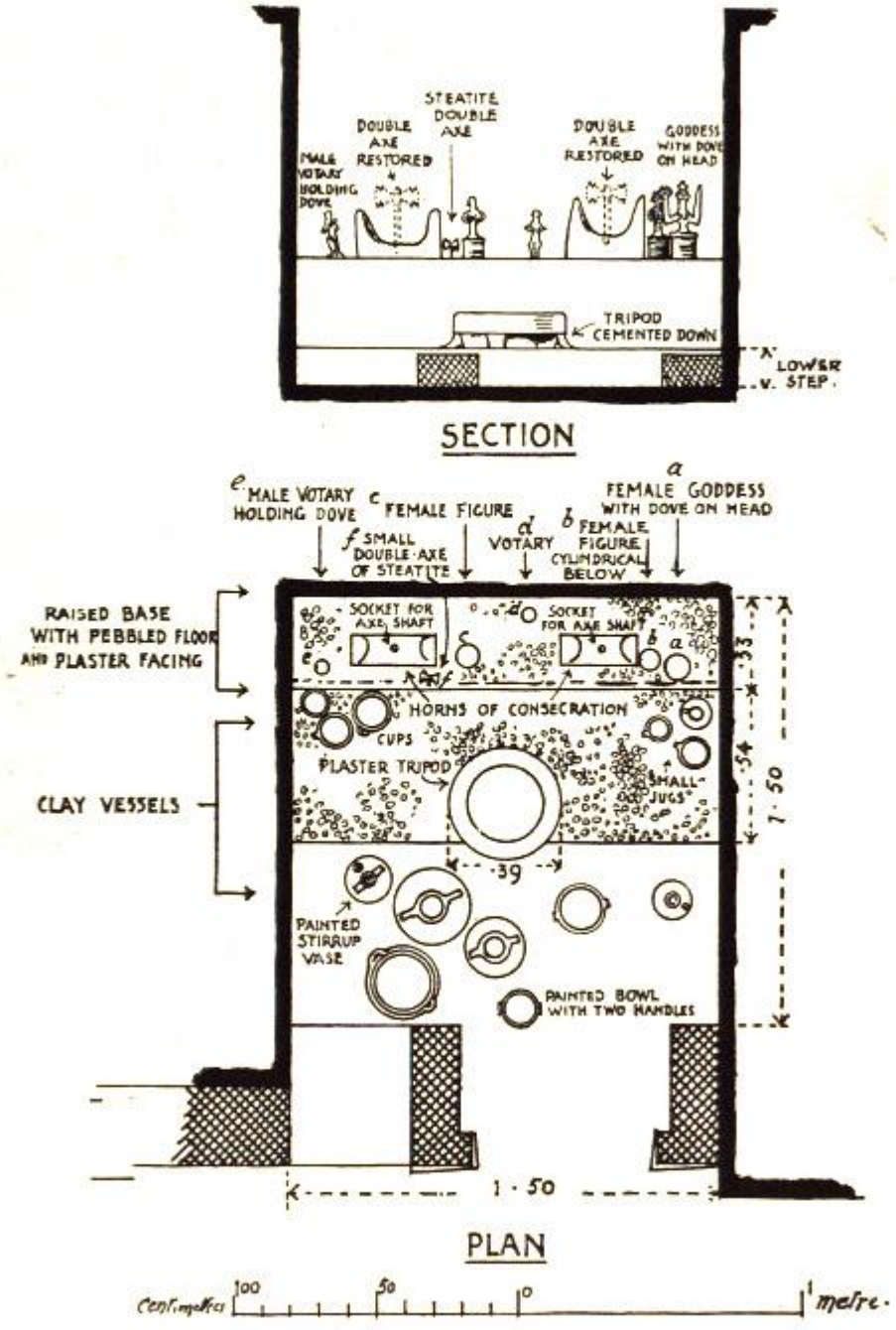


Figure 5.3: MGUA figure from the Shrine of the Double Axes from Evans 1921-1935: II, fig.193

Figure 5.4: The Shrine of the Double Axes from Evans 1921-1935: II, fig. 189

Appendix I: Religious Tablets from Knossos

A. *Room of Chariot Tablets*

Ai 1805 .1 di-ka[
.2 MUL 200[
.3 *inf. mut.*

E 132 *supra mutila*
.1 *vest.* [
.2 GRA 202̣[

F 51 HORD T 7 V 5 Z 3̣

verso .1 wa HORD T 1 V 3 po-ro-de-̣qo-no V 2 Z 2
.2 di-we HORD T 1 HORD T 4 Z 1 ma-qẹ̣ HORD V 6

V 114 .a a-mi-ni-so
.b pa-ze , / pe-ḍạ , wa-tu ,

verso .1 pa-ze , a-mi-ni-so , / pe-da , wa-tu
.2 *vacat*

V 280 .1 wo-de-wi-jo
.2-4 *vacant*
.5 to-pe-za , o-u-ki-te-mi ×
.6-10 *vacant*
.11 a-pe-ti-ra$_2$ / o-u-te-mi ×
.12 o-u-te-mi ×
.13 o-u-te-mi ×
.14 o-u-te-mi ×
.15 e-pi , i-ku-wo-i-pi
reliqua pars sine regulis

Xd 75 di-ka[

Xd 97 di-wi-je-ja / di-wi-ja [

Xd 140 .1 da-pu-ri-ṭọ[
.2a pa-ze-qe , ke-wo [
.2b **47*-ta-qo[
.3 **47*-[
.4 *infra mutila*

V 52 .1 a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja 1 ụ[ ]*vest.*[
.2 e-nu-wa-ri-jo 1 pa-ja-wo-ne 1 po-se-da[-o-ne

lat. inf. [[e-ri-nu-we , pe-ṛọ]] [

B. *Room of the Clay Chest*

Fp 1 .1 de-u-ki-jo-jo ‘me-no’
.2 di-ka-ta-jo / di-we OLE S 1
.3 da-da-re-jo-de OLE S 2
.4 pa-de OLE S 1
.5 pa-si-te-o-i OLE 1
.6 qe-ra-si-ja OLE S 1[
.7 a-mi-ni-so , / pa-si-te-o-i S 1[
.8 e-ri-nu , OLE V 3
.9 **47*-da-de OLE V 1
.10 a-ne-mo, / i-je-re-ja V 4
.11 *vacat*
.12 to-so OLE 3 S 2 V 2

Fp 5 .1 di-wi-jo-jo ‘me-no’ qe-ra-si-ja OLE S 1
.2 pa-si-te-o-i OLE S 1
.3 *vacat*

Fp 6 .1 ka-ra-e-ri-jo / pa-si-te-o-i S 1
.2 qe-ra-si-ja OLE S 1

Fp 7 .1 ka-ra-e-ri-jo , ‘me-no’ [
.2 di-ka-ta-de , OLE S 1[

Fp 13 .1 ra-pa-to ‘me-no’, **47*-ku-to-de OLE V 1 pi-pi-tu-na V 1
.2 au-ri-mo-de OLE V 4 pa-si-te-o-i S 1 qe-ra-si-ja S 1
.3 a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja OLE 1 u-ta-no, ‘a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja’ S 1 V 3

Fp 14 .1a me-no OLE
.1b a-ma-ko-to , / jo-te-re-pa-to , // e-ke-se-si V 1
.2 qe-ra-si-ja S 1 a-mi-ni-so-de , / pa-si-te-o-i S 2 a-re V [

Fp 15 .1 ka-ra-e-ri-jo, / me-no
.2 **56*-ti S 2 , pa-si-te-o-i S 1

Fp 16 .1 wo-de-wi-jo , ‘me-no’ , pa-si-te-o-i S 1
.2 qe-ra-si-jo OLE S 1

Fp 18 .1]-jo-de, / ka-ra-e-ri-jo , mẹ[-no
.2]jo S 1 pa-si-te-o-i S 1 [

Fp 30 to-so-[

verso ko-no[

Fp 48 .1 wo-de-wi-jo , ‘me-no’ / si-ja-ma-to OLE S 2
.2 pa-de , S 1 qe-ra-si-ja S 1 pa-si-te-o-i S 1̣
.3 a-mi-ni-so-de , / pa-si-te-o-i OLE S 1

Fs 2 .A HORD T 1 *NI* V 3 OLE Z 2
.B sa-na-to-de , FAR V 1 VIN V 1

verso *ME+RI* Z 1

Fs 3 .A HORD T 1 *NI* V 3
.B a-**65*-ma-na-ke / me-na FAR V 1 OLE Z 1

Fs 4 .A HORD T 1 *NI* V 3 FAR V 2 VIN V 2
.B a-ro-do-ro-o, /wa-ḳẹ̣-ta , HORD T 1 *NI* V 3 OLE V 1

verso *ME+RI* Z 2

Fs 8 .A HORD T 1 *NI* T 1[
.B pa-de , FAR V 2 [

verso *ME+RI *211*$^{\text{VAS}}$*+PO* 1[

Fs 9 .A] [[HORD]] HORD[
.B]ki-to, / o-ja-de, [

verso] Z 1 [

Fs 11 .A] HORD T 1 *NI* T 1 FAR V 2 VIN V 2
.B]qe-sa-ma-qa,/ ta-mi-te-mo , HORD T 1 OLE V 1

verso *ME+Ṛị* Z 2

Fs 12 .A]1 *NI* V 3 VIN V 1
.B]2̣ OLE Z 2

Fs 17 .A]i , HORD T 1 *NI* V 3 OLE Z 2 [
.B]FAR V 1 VIN V 1 [

verso] Z 1

Fs 19 .A e-ti-wa , HORD T 1 *NI* V 3
.B FAR V 1 OLE Z 2 VIN V 1

verso *ME+RI* Z 1

Fs 20 ạ-**65*-ma[

verso *ME+RI* Z 1[

Fs 21 .1 ka-u-da , HORD , T 1 [
.2 FAR V 1 VIN V 1[

Fs 22 .A] HORD T 1 *NI* V 3 [
.B]ṇạ-to-de , FAR V 1 VIN V 1 [

Fs 23 .1 ja-pe-re-so , HORD T 2 *NI* V 3 VIN V 2
.2 FAR V 1 OLE V 1

verso *ME+RI* Z 1

Fs 24 .A] HORD T 1 *NI* V 3 FAR V 1
.B], OLE Z 2 VIN V 1

verso] Z 1

Fs 25 .A] HORD T 1 *NI* V 3 VIN V 1
.B]de , FAR V 1 OLE Z 2

Fs 26 .1]ki-ri-jo-de[
.2]FAR V 1 [

verso *ME+RI* Z [

Fs 29 .A] [
.B]de ,[

verso] ị [

Fs 32 da-da-re[

Gg 10 .1]**209*^{VAS} 2 [
.2]ṭẹ-o *ME+RI *209*^{VAS} 1[
.3] *vacat* [

C. <u>*Gallery of the Jewel Fresco Deposit*</u>

Dk 727 .A] e-ko-so OVIS^{m} 100 LANA [
.B]da-ro, / × LANA [
lat. inf.]a$_3$

F 726 .1]wi-jo-jo e-ra[
.2]wọ OLE+*A* V 1

Ga 422 .A]ko-ri-ja-do-no
.B]jo AROM 1

Ga 738 .A] a-ka-wo [
.B] *ko* ĄṚỌṂ[

Gg 702 .1 pa-si-te-o-i / me-ri **209*^{VAS} 1
.2 da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo , / po-ti-ni-ja ‘me-ri’ **209*^{VAS} 1

Gg 703] ḷ *ME+RI *209*^{VAS}*+A* 34
verso]8̣0̣ [

Gg 704 .1]me-no
.2]o-ne me-ri **209*^{VAS}*+A* 1

Gg 705 .1] a-mi-ni-so , / e-re-u-ti-ja *ME+RI *209*^{VAS} 1
.2]pa-si-te-o-i *ME+RI*209*^{VAS} 1
.3]o-ne *ME+RI *209*^{VAS} 1

Gg 709 .a]-na [
.b] **209*^{VAS} 2[

Gg 711] [[**209*^{VAS}*+A* 27̣0̣]] [[
verso] 29̣0̣ *KE* 200[
lat. inf.]ku-do-ni-jo , [

Gg 717 .1] , me-na , pa-si-te-o̩[-i
.2]s̩i̩-da-o-ne , *ME+RI* [

Gg 5185 .1]-to , a-pa-ṭọ[
.2]o-ne *Mẹ̣+RI*[

Gg 5552 .1]mẹ-no
.2]2

Gg 7369 .1 ka-]ra-e-ri-jo-jo me-no[
.2] LANA 1 M 1 me-ri Ṣ[

Gg 8053 .1]me-no
.2] *vacat*

L 470 .A]-ta
.B] TELA^{2}+*PU* 415

verso 90 [

L 590 .1 po-]ki-ro-nu-ka **161* TELA^{1}[
.2]ṛẹ-u-ko-nu-ka **161* TELA^{1}[

L 735 .1]a-ro$_{2}$-e TELA^{3}+*PU* [
.2] me-sa-ta , TELA^{X}+*PU*[

L 7409 .A]a-ro$_{2}$-e TELA^{3}+*PU* 60 [
.B to-]sa / me-sa-ta , TELA^{2}+*PU* 100[

lat. inf.] to-sa ṬẸḶẠ

M 719 .1 a-mi-ni-so ke-re-na , re-ne , [
.2 e-ne-si-da-o-ne , su-ja-to , **146* 1 [

M 720 .a o-re-o-po ṬẸḶẠ^{X}[
.b ze-ne-si-wi-jo / **146* 1[

M 724 .1]me-no **146*
.2]*vacat*

M 729 .1]ma-wo , **146* 1[
.2]po-ti-ni-ja[

M 1645 .1 ka-]ra-e-ri-jo-jo , me-no
.2]-wi-jo-do *pe *146* 1

Oa 730]**167* 60 L 52 M 2

Oa 731] L [[ ]] [

Oa 732]re-o L[

Oa 734]jo AES **167+PE* [

Oa 745 .1 a-ka-[ ]-jo-jo , me-ṇọ
.2 da-pu$_2$-ṛị[to-jo]po-ti-ni-jạ *ri *166+WE* 2̣2̣[

Oa 878 .1] **166+WE* 18
.2] e-to-ro-qa-ta 16

Oa 1808]**166+WE* 1

Od 714 .a a-**65*-na [
.b e-re-u-ti-ja LANA 1 [

Od 715 .a e-re-u-ti-ja
.b ta-wa-ko-to LANA 1

Od 716 .a]e-re-u-ti-ja
.b] LANA 1

Od 718 a-mi-ni-ṣọ[

U 736 .1]na-u-do-mo
.2]93 e-to-ro-qa-ta **181* 10

verso]3̣6̣

X 721]ke-do-ro[

X 722 .a di-wi-pa-ra [
.b e-ra / te-wo , e-ra ri-ni-jo [

X 723 da-da-re-jo-de[

X 728 .A] a-ro$_2$[
.B]sa / a-pu-do-si , me[

X 737 ko-a / ra-jạ

X 743 .A] a-[
.B a-]mị-ni-si-ja , / [

X 744 .A *vacat* [
.B ma-sa-de / ti-ta-ma-i [

D. *Room of the Column Bases*[933]

Fh 343 du-pu$_2$-so / zo-a OLE 15 e-pi-ko-wa OLE 1 S 1 V 3

Fh 348 .1 o-no , i-su-ku-wo-do-to , OLE 1 S 1
.2 qe-te-o , [[te-o]] OLE 1

Fh 350 po-ro-ko-wa OLE 2

Fh 380 jo-te / zo-a OLE 33 S 1 e-pi-ko-wa[

Fh 381]po-ro-ko-wa , a[

Fh 390 e-ri-nu[

Fh 5502 .a V 2[
.b ku-ru-me-ne-jo / de-u-ki-jo[

Fh 5467 .a] di-ka-ta-de[
.b]de / i-je-[ ] OLE 1 V 1

Fh 5475 qe-ra-si-[

Fh 9077 **56*-ti[ ] 1 S 1

Fp 354 .1]ka-ra-e-i-jo OLE 1 S 2
.2]jo OLE V 1 pa-ja-ni-jo OLE V 1

Fp 363 .1 qe-te-a , te-re-no OLE [
.2 da-**83*-ja-de / i-je-ro S 2 ki-ri-te-wi-ja , [
.3 di-wo-pu-ka-ta S 2 [
.4]*vacat* [

Fp 5472 .1 ku-pi-ri-jo / su-ko-ne OLE[
.2 si-ja-ma[ ] OLE 1 S [
.3] *vest.* [ ] de OLE 2 [
.4] *vacat*

[933] I have not transcribed the entire Fh and Fp(2)series; rather, only tablets with possible religious significance are provided.

E. *Miscellaneous Findspots*

1. Area of Bull Relief

D 411 di-ko-to / e-ma-a$_2$-o OVIS^f 60 *WE* 30

Dl 930 .A] po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo OVIS^f 50 LANA 3 M[
.B]mạ-di-qo / si-ja-du-we *o ki* OVIS^m 50 *o* LANA 6 M 2[

Dl 933 .A] po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo OVIS^f 40 LANA 3 *o* LANA 9
.B]-**83*-re-to , / si-ja-du-we *o* OVIS^f 20 *o ki* OVIS^m 60

Dl 943 .A po-ti-ni-ja-we OVIS^f 90 LANA 11
.B a-ko-i-da / qa-nwa-so *o ki* OVIS^m 90 *o* LANA 7̣

Dl 946 .A po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo OVIS^f 70 LANA 7
.B ke-u-sa / si-ja-du-we , *o ki* OVIS^m 70 *o* LANA 7

Dl 950 .A po-ti-ni-]jạ-we-jo OVIS^f 50 LANA 5 [
.B si-ja-du-]we *o ki* OVIS^m 50 *o* LANA 5 [

Dl 7147 .A] po-ti-ni-jạ-we-jo OVIS^f [
.B]*vest.* / ka-ru-no *o ki* OVIS^m [

Dl 7771 .A] po-ti-nị[-ja-we-jo
.B]qo-ta , / ra-ja [
supra mutila

E 842 .1a di-wo[
.1b]ra , te-o-i / me-a-de [
.2]ọḷḷịṿ 24 T 4 ṖẎẹ̣ [ ] T 2 me-na GRA 2 T 4̣[
.3]pe-ro$_2$-[ ] 2 T 4 ki-da-ro GRA 2̣1̣[ ] ṭọ-so GRA [

F 866]nị-jo / di-ka-ta-de *NI* 10 ma-sạ[

F 7509 .1] di-ka-ta-de [
.2]ṛọ PYC+*O* 6̣ [

Ga 953 .1 wo-de-wị-jo-jo , / me-nọ [//]ri-jo-de
.2 ko-no , *MA* 3 ko-rị-[ ]2 pa-de-i , ko-no *MA* 2 *KO* T 1[
.3a [ ] pa-si-te-o-i ,
.3b pa-sa-ja , ko-no , [ ] a-mi-ni-so-de , *MẠ* 2 *KO* T 4

2. West Magazines

Ga 456 .1]2 pa-de , PYC T[
.2] [[wa-du-ri-[ ]] [

Ga 674 .a] pe-ma
.b]ma-ri-ne-we, / ko-ri-ja-do-no , AROM 10

Gg 713 ma-ri-ne-we , do-e-ro *'ME+RI' *209*^{VAS}*+A* [

X 444]sa / po-ti-ni-ja[

X 451 .1 si-ja-ma-to[
.2 pa-sa-ja[

Hall of the Colonnades

As 1519 .0 *supra mutila*
.1] VIR 1
.2 i-we-ro VIR 1
.3 ne-o-to VIR 1
.4 qa-ti-ja VIR 1
.5 o-pi-si-jo VIR 1
.6 pa-ja-ro VIR 1
.7 ki-ke-ro VIR 1
.8 i-to VIR 1
.9-10 *vacant*
.11 ma-ri-ne-wo , wo-i-ko-de
.12 to-so VIR 10
.13-14 *vacant*
.15 *infra mutila*

3. Area of Clay Signet Room

Ga 1058 te-o-po-ri-ja / ma-sa PYC T 1

4. Northwest Passage (Magazine 13)

Od 696 .1]e-pi-ro-pa-ja , / o-du-we ‘te-o-po-ri-jo’ M 2 [
.2] LANA 2 M 1
.3 *vacat*

5. Arsenal

Mc 4462 .A ‘]ra-wo-qo-no’ **150* 61 CAP[f] 30 [
.B ti-]ṛị-ṭọ / a-re **150* 1 **142* M 26 CORN 52[

U 4478 .1 si-ja-ma-to *e *177* 2
.2 me-wo-ni-jo *e *177* 2 *ma *177* 2
.3 a_3-ki-si-jo *e *177* 2̣
.4 ta-u-po-no *ma *177* 1̣
.5 pu-re-wa [ ] *mạ *177* 1̣
.6 pa-na-ṛẹ-jo / ka-u-ja [ ] *vac.*
.7 de-u-ke-ro] *vac.*
.8 ḍọ-ri-ka-no *ẹ *177* [ ] *vac.*
.9 a_3-ki-po *e *177* [ ] *vac.*
.10 ke-[*ma *177* [
.11 a-nu[
.12 e-ke-ṇụ-wo [
.13 e-da-[ ]-ni-ja [
.14 ka-pa-ri-jo[
.15 we-ka-di-jo [
.16 pi-ri-sa-ta *mạ*[
.17 ku-ṛọ$_2$ *ma* [
.18 e-ke-me-de *ma *177* [
.19 pa-na-re-jo *e *177* [
.20 se-ri-na-ta *e *177* [
.21 pa-ke-ta *ma *177* [
.22 a-wi-do-to *ma *177* [
.23 *vest.* [ ] *ma*[
.24]-ṇọ [

fr. separatum
.0 *supra mutila*
.1] *ma *177* [
.2]wo *ma *177* [
.3 *infra mutila*

6. Findspot Unknown

C 394[934]	.1	*vac.*[
	.2	qe-[
	.3	BOS^{m} 1 *sa* OVIS^{m}
	.4	pa-ja-o-ne / pa-de[
	.5	]*vest.*[
		infra mutila
verso	.1	]no
	.2	]*sa* OVIS^{m} 1 *sa* CAP^{m} 1[
	.3	]we *pa* OVIS^{m} 1 [
	.4	]*vest.* [
	.5	*inf. mut.*
Ga 7594		ma-ri[
Ga 5672	.1	]me-no , [
	.2	]*MA* 2 pa-sa[-ja?
	.3	] , pa-ra-[
X 7955		di-ka-ta-de[

[934] This tablet may have been found near the north entrance to the Room of the Column Bases, but Firth does not believe that it belongs with the *RCB* tablets (2000-2001).

Appendix II: Evaluation of Late Bronze Age Cult Locales at Knossos

A. *Central Sanctuary Complex*

MINOAN PHASE MM II – LM IB

Primary Indicators

- ~ Special facilities for ritual practice: basins near pillars in East and West pillar crypts, possibly for libations; benches for display of offerings; easy access to magazines, perhaps for harvest ritual
- ~ Special portable equipment: stone lamp, stone vases, numerous rhyta, stone libation tables
- ~ Attention focusing devices: pillars, benches
- ~ Use of cult image or aniconic representation: possibly "snake goddesses" and pillars

Secondary Indicators

- ~ Votive offerings: votive robes and belts
- ~ Repeated symbols: inscribed double axes, "snake goddesses"
- ~ Bones: animal bones and ashes in a deposit under the floor (possibly indicating blood sacrifice or ritual meal)
- ~ Investment of wealth in the equipment and offerings: abundance of items made of precious materials (gold, silver, copper, bronze, ivory and faience); imported Egyptian alabastra

Type of Cult Locale

- ~ Built: benches for conspicuous display; basement rooms and pier and door partitions for hidden exclusive mysteries; investment of wealth in architecture including paved floors and pier and door partitions

Interpretation as a Cult Locale: **STRONG**

PHASE I LM II – LM IIIA1 early

Primary Indicators

- ~ Special facilities for ritual practice: basins near pillars in East and West pillar crypts, possibly for libations; benches for display of offerings; easy access to magazines.
- ~ Attention focusing devices: pillars; benches; façade of the "Tripartite Shrine"
- ~ Use of aniconic representation: pillars???

Secondary Indicators

- ~ Repeated symbols: inscribed double axes

Type of Cult Locale

- ~ Built: benches for conspicuous display; investment of wealth in architecture in the Tripartite Shrine

Interpretation as a Cult Locale: **POSSIBLE**

- ~ These rooms were closely connected to the *RCT* which functioned as an administrative office for the preparation and storage of Linear B tablets, placing some doubt on its interpretation as a cult locale
- ~ The possible tripartite construction of the west façade of the Central Court is paralleled in Minoan and Mycenaean religious iconography which supports a religious function for at least part of this complex
- ~ The lack of finds dating to this phase prevents a more accurate interpretation

PHASE II LM IIIA1 early – LM IIIA2/IIIB1

Primary Indicators

- ~ Special facilities for ritual practice: benches for display of offerings
- ~ Attention focusing devices: pillar room is full of pithoi, benches
- ~ Use of aniconic representation: pillars???

Type of Cult Locale

- ~ Built: benches for conspicuous display

Interpretation as a Cult Locale: **UNLIKELY**

- ~ Latest finds suggest that these rooms were used for storage of oil pithoi and as administrative offices

B. *Throne Room Complex*

MINOAN PHASE MM II – LM I

Primary Indicators

- ~ Special facilities for ritual practice: benches for display of offerings in Anteroom and Throne Room; gypsum throne in Throne Room and carbonized remains of wooden throne in Anteroom; Lustral Basin; purple stone basin from corridor to the north of Anteroom; niche with ledge in Inner Shrine
- ~ Attention focusing devices: thrones, benches, Lustral Basin, niche, Bull and Griffin frescoes from Anteroom and Throne Rooms, respectively

Secondary Indicators

- ~ Repeated symbols: griffins flanking throne and on west wall of Throne Room, incurved altars painted on wall on either side of throne; two thrones flanked by benches in both Anteroom and Throne Room

Type of Cult Locale

- ~ Built:
  - Primary: benches for conspicuous display; lustral basin for hidden/exclusive mysteries; niche in Inner Shrine as possible location for cult objects and/or offerings
  - Secondary: investment of wealth in architecture including plastered gypsum and ironstone floors in Anteroom and Throne Room; pier-and-door partitions between Throne Room and Anteroom; elaborate Lustral Basin with colonnaded parapet and gypsum-lined floors

Interpretation as a Cult Locale: **STRONG**

PHASE I LM II – LM IIIA1 early

Primary Indicators

- ~ Special facilities for ritual practice: benches for display of offerings in Anteroom and Throne Room; gypsum throne in Throne Room and carbonized remains of wooden throne in Anteroom; Lustral Basin; purple stone basin from corridor to the north of Anteroom; niche with ledge in Inner Shrine
- ~ Attention focusing devices: thrones, benches, Lustral Basin, niche, Bull and Griffin frescoes from Anteroom and Throne Rooms, respectively

Secondary Indicators

- ~ Repeated symbols: griffins flanking throne and on west wall of Throne Room, incurved altars painted on wall on either side of throne; two thrones flanked by benches in both Anteroom and Throne Room

Type of Cult Locale

- ~ Built:
  - Primary: benches for conspicuous display; lustral basin for hidden/exclusive mysteries; niche in Inner Shrine as possible location for cult objects and/or offerings
  - Secondary: investment of wealth in architecture including plastered gypsum and ironstone floors in Anteroom and Throne Room; pier-and-door partitions between Throne Room and Anteroom; elaborate Lustral Basin with colonnaded parapet and gypsum-lined floors

Interpretation as a Cult Locale: **STRONG**

PHASE II LM IIIA1 early – LM IIIA2/IIIB1

Primary Indicators

- ~ Special facilities for ritual practice: benches for display of offerings in Anteroom and Throne Room; gypsum throne in Throne Room and carbonized remains of wooden throne in Anteroom; Lustral Basin; purple stone basin from corridor to the north of Anteroom; niche with ledge in Inner Shrine
- ~ Special portable equipment: stone alabastra in Throne Room; treasure deposit from cupboard containing precious materials such as faience, rock crystal, lapis lazuli; amethystine, gold foil, as well as ivory box, faience roundels and a stone lamp; silver bracelet and gold foil from Inner Shrine
- ~ Attention focusing devices: thrones, benches, Lustral Basin, niche, Bull and Griffin frescoes from Anteroom and Throne Rooms, respectively

Secondary Indicators

- ~ Votive offerings: treasure deposit from cupboard; silver bracelet and gold foil from niche in Inner Shrine
- ~ Repeated symbols: griffins flanking throne and on west wall of Throne Room, incurved altars painted on wall on either side of throne; two thrones flanked by benches in both Anteroom and Throne Room
- ~ Symbolism also used in funerary rites: flat alabastra

- ~ Investment of wealth in the equipment and offerings: treasure deposit from cupboard containing precious and exotic materials; silver bracelet and gold foil from Inner Shrine

Type of Cult Locale

- ~ Built:
  - Primary: benches for conspicuous display; lustral basin for hidden/exclusive mysteries; niche in Inner Shrine as possible location for hidden rites
  - Secondary: investment of wealth in architecture including plastered gypsum and ironstone floors in Anteroom and Throne Room; pier-and-door partitions between Throne Room and Anteroom; elaborate Lustral Basin with colonnaded parapet and gypsum-lined floors

Interpretation as a Cult Locale: **STRONG**

C. *The Shrine of the Double Axes*

Primary Indicators:

- ~ Specialized facilities for ritual practice: bench along north wall; fixed tripod offering table
- ~ Special portable equipment: special receptacles, lamps, etc.
- ~ Attention focusing devices: bench with horns of consecration
- ~ Use of cult image: MGUA figure
- ~ Special movements of prayer and adoration reflected in the images: male figure offering a bird; female figures posed with arms under breasts

Secondary Indicators:

- ~ Votive offerings: female and male figures
- ~ Repeated symbols: horns of consecration; female figures
- ~ Iconographic relationship to deity worshipped: MGUA figure
- ~ Offerings of prepared foodstuffs: domestic pottery suitable for holding offerings

Type of Cult:

- ~ Built:
  - Primary: bench for conspicuous display
  - Secondary: investment of wealth reflected in the waterworn pebbled floors

Interpretation as a Cult Locale: **STRONG**

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Vita

Joann Gulizio was born in Englishtown, New Jersey in 1971. After completing her work at Midwood High School in Brooklyn, New York, in 1989, she entered New York University in New York City and received a degree of Bachelor of Arts in Classical Archaeology in 1993. In 1996, she entered The University of Texas at Austin and received a second Bachelor of Arts in Classics in 1998. In August, 1998, she entered the Graduate School at The University of Texas at Austin and received her M.A. in Classics. She received a Bert Hodge Hill Fellowship to study at the American School of Classical Studies during the 2002-2003 academic year. From 1999 to the present, she has worked as a ceramics specialist for the Iklaina Archaeological Project. Joann has published articles on the Linear B evidence for Mycenaean religion.

E-mail Address: gulizioj@cofc.edu

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